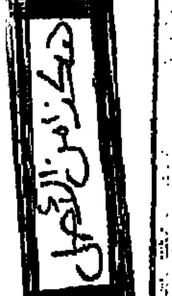
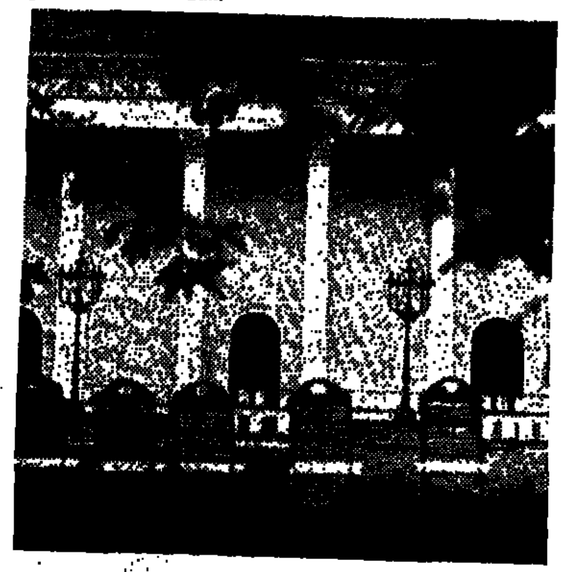
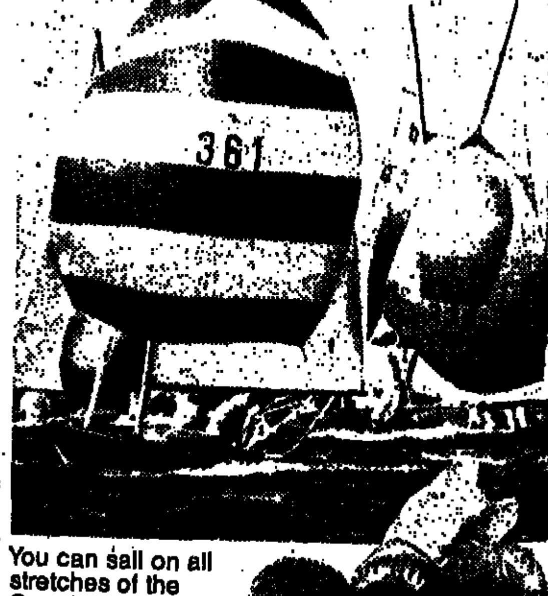


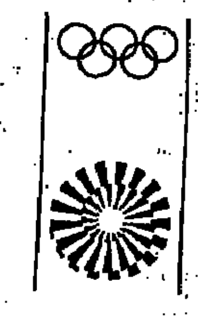












The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Paris clears the air for future Nixon, EEC and security talks

Entente reigns over Paris at the moment. All is peace and tranquillity. Entente was reached between President Pompidou and Soviet Communist party leader Leonid Brezhnev on a great many themes. Calm and tranquillity arose from the far-reaching agreements of the French President and Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu of Rumania, who is not always a mere spokesman for Moscow policies but has ideas of his own.

And the continuing friendly relationship between France and the Federal Republic is another encouraging sign, since this is the very basis of the policies of a united Europe.

Entente has now been reached with Britain, another cause for satisfaction in Paris, but above all the announcement of the meeting of Pompidou and President Nixon in the Azores is a sign of calm reigning.

Many politicians of course regret that there is not the old sense of initiative à la de Gaulle and that French foreign policy no longer throws up those adventurous and far-sighted projects which were typical of the General's term of office.

The General's successor at the Elysée Palace undoubtedly does not look so far into the future nor so far beyond the frontiers of France as de Gaulle. But can he feel justified in having the tranquil feeling that he is everyone's friend and everyone is his friend?

It is striking how often denials had to be issued to press reports stating that the agreements reached by President Pompidou and his visitors had gone much further than they really had.

There is the matter of Chancellor Brandt's visit to Paris, a trip which Brandt described as being of the utmost importance and a pressing matter. There was astonishment in the Elysée Palace that commentators in the Federal Republic had not read Pompidou's truly hesitant answer with enthusiasm.

But really, when a friend pays a visit because he wants to discuss problems involving himself and his host is it not the done thing for the host to say that his guest will be welcome to come at any time?

Instead weeks went by and it was necessary for West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel to make a preparatory visit to Paris in order to fix a definite date for the Brandt-Pompidou meeting. It was remarked that there was no cooling off of the heated relationship between Paris and Bonn.

We know that a cold front follows a warm front, and not only in metereological terms and we know that despite the denials there were vast differences of opinion in the past few weeks.

We can see this from the fact that in Paris there were great efforts made during Brandt's visit to find out what currency policy is at present being pursued in Bonn – whether it is still Professor Schiller's concept and whether this is still based on the idea that the Europeans must pay the strictest attention to the interests of the Americans.

There have also been official denials of reports about the revised Entente Cordiale with Britain that was made possible by Britain's agreement to join the Common Market, or looked at another way, made possible by Georges Pompidou's revoking Charles de Gaulle's veto.

Times have certainly changed. Britain will become a Community member like all the others and the new bonds of friendship between Paris and London should therefore have no special significance.

Pompidou knows what de Gaulle said about a Community of seven (or ten) being a different kettle of fish than the Six and if the balance of power has to be shifted the French would find it desirable for there to be a counterweight to the industrial supremacy of the Federal Republic.

France and Britain could probably make up the necessary weight. If Britain's entry into Europe were not of special significance to France more than the other five it would be hard to understand why Georges Pompidou invited Queen Elizabeth II to make a State visit to Paris, thus persuading her to break the rule that the British monarch only ever visits another country once during his or her reign. The French have obviously not forgotten the truly regal reception that was given to Queen Elizabeth on her first State visit in 1957. This State visit was not just one of many, but a highly popular occasion and not just because the French like to see beautiful young women in high positions nor because the good republicans are very fond of – other people's – monarchs.

This second State visit by the Queen is in fact designed to sign and seal the second Entente Cordiale (just as the visit of Edward VII signed and sealed the first).

Even if this does not alter any part of the pact of friendship with Bonn, according to official assurances it does represent a remarkable event in European history that cannot be overlooked taking into consideration what will happen if and when the American armed forces leave Europe.

Britain and France are both nuclear powers and if London's "special ties" with Washington were to be cut they could be replaced by a similar realtionship with Paris.

It is precisely this business of the withdrawal of American troops that is responsible for causing a certain amount of friction between France and West Germany. It is paradoxical that France which never wanted American troops on its soil is protesting the loudest about the possibility of their being withdrawn.

France, at any rate, is in a good position to make clear to the Soviet Union the logical reasons for opposing the so-called mutual balanced force reduction, namely that however mutual and balanced the force reduction is the Russian tanks will still be on the European mainland and the American forces will be on the other side of the Atlantic.

Bonn wants MBFR to be discussed by Nato. And the French have in the meantime realised that it is not always to their benefit to have left the Nato military organisation.

It is to be feared that there will be rounds of talks involving various blocs – and where would that leave France?

If it is not Nato and the Warsaw Pact countries then in the end it will be the two "major powers", Bonn fears. Paris fears this too. But it is hoped that the European Security Conference will not be burdened with this problems. Foreign Minister Walter Scheel on the other hand takes a different line – he feels that the security conference should deal with security!

Top priority on the Paris agenda is European cooperation in spheres such as economics, technology, science and the like. For the Soviet Union the most important matter is the inviolability of European borders – preservation of the status quo.

Although everyone concerned wants this security conference to take place there is little or no agreement on what should be discussed at it. Paris and Bonn are agreed that inter-German agreement on Berlin is a top priority while the Russians and Poles are most concerned about the ratification of their treaties with Bonn.

Hence the emphasis being laid on multilateral preparatory negotiations.

But we have not got that far yet. It is necessary to find a common viewpoint of European countries first – just as it is essential for Europe to take a firm united stand on the monetary question. Europe has also to work out what role the extended EEC will play in the world and consider whether it is possible to achieve integration within this framework that would give Europe a voice in world affairs.

All these questions and the currency crisis too will provide material for the Nixon-Pompidou discussion in the Azores on 13 December. This meeting will give Pompidou a chance to gather information about American policies for next year following the Group of Ten conference in Rome and the talks with Willy Brandt.

This is an important juncture in American policies as a whole in the light of European detente and the latest developments in the Vietnam War.

Observers in Paris are proud that Georges Pompidou is the first European statesman with whom President Nixon is

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS — Page 2
Prague keen for improved relations with Bonn but 1938 agreement hinders things

THE PRESS — Page 4
Conservative bishops axe short-lived Catholic weekly *Publik*

POLLUTION — Page 12
Bundestag garbage hearing raps litter louts

SPORT — Page 15
Mang's form promises well for Munich

Scheel in Moscow



Foreign Minister Walter Scheel visited Moscow to emphasise to the Russian government that the West German government was prepared to make concessions as regards the ratification of the Moscow Treaty so long as the Berlin talks were satisfactorily concluded. Herr Scheel is here seen with Alexei Kosygin, Andrei Gromyko and Valentin Falin, the Russian Ambassador in Bonn, before one of the talks. (Photo: dpa)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Prague keen for improved relations with Bonn but 1938 agreement hinders things

Restrained optimism prevails in Bonn following the latest round of exploratory talks with Czechoslovakia. Jiri Goetz, the head of the Prague delegation, talked in terms of the razor's edge. State Secretary Paul Frank of the Bonn Foreign Office sounded a similar note with his comment that this country's draft renunciation of the 1938 Munich Agreement reaches the utmost limit of what "we feel to be tolerable for both sides, including ourselves."

But prior to formal negotiations on a return to normal in mutual relations and an agreement on renunciation of the use of force a further round of exploratory talks will no doubt prove necessary.

Differences of opinion remain on the legal assessment of the Munich Agreement, which was reached regardless of the Prague government of the day, formalised the cession of the Sudetenland to Hitler and led to the occupation of Czechoslovakia a few months later.

Neither side is saying much about the formulas by means of which these differences are to be reconciled. Bonn would, however, appear to have modified its long-held view that the Agreement is invalid and was unjust from the start.

In recent months Czech politicians for their part seem to have dropped the "all that it entails" sting to their demand that the 1938 Agreement be declared to have been null and void from the word go (ex tunc).

The consequences are what originally decided the Federal government in Bonn to declare the Munich Agreement null and void now rather than then.

Null and void from the word go would, for instance, mean that the naturalisation of the Sudeten Germans by the then German Reich, confirmed by Bonn legislation in 1955, would go by the board, Czechoslovakia having declared Hitler's naturalisation decree invalid in 1945.

The upshot would be that Sudeten Germans would turn out to have been Czech nationals all along and liable to treason proceedings for, say, having served in the Wehrmacht.

This particular problem may not have proved so far to be of any practical significance in the course of visits to Czechoslovakia by Sudeten Germans but another consequence of declaring the Munich Agreement null and void from the word go might well prove important.

Were a declaration of this kind to be made the cession of the Sudetenland would turn out to have been an occupation and reparations could be claimed to the full.

Officially Czechoslovakia has never laid claim to reparations. The idea has occasionally been voiced in the Czech press, though.

In view of the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans after the war counter-claims could, of course, be made, based mainly on the loss of goods and property.

Both sides evidently feel there is little point in complicating matters in this way but it remains to be seen how the Agreement can be declared null and void with the express proviso that no international or civil legal consequences are to ensue.

In principle both sides have for years, ever since one began sounding out the other's viewpoint, been largely in agreement on Munich and its consequences.

As long ago as 1964 Chancellor Erhard stated that the pact had been torn to shreds by Hitler himself, a view he reiterated in his March 1966 Peace Note.

That December Chancellor Kiesinger noted in his government policy statement that the Munich Agreement no longer applied and was of no territorial significance whatsoever.

The first emissaries from Bonn, who travelled to Prague at the beginning of 1967, discovered, however, that the prospects of striking a balance between ex tunc and ex nunc were slender.

Hopes that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bucharest might lead to swift agreement with Prague proved premature.

After tough negotiations special envoy Egon Bahr succeeded, in the summer of 1967, merely in reaching agreement on the establishment of trade delegations empowered to issue visas.

A year later the carefully forged links were torn asunder by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Not until December 1969 did Czech Party leader Gustav Husak in an interview express interest in further contacts.

In his government policy statement of the previous October Chancellor Willy Brandt has underlined this country's willingness to reach agreements "transcending the past."

In October 1970 the talks were resumed by the head of the Eastern European department of the Foreign Office. Since March this year four rounds of exploratory talks have been held, the most recent in Rothenburg ob der Tauber.

There can be no doubt that both Prague and Bonn are interested in reaching agreement. In Prague's case an additional factor is that the Soviet Union is in favour of coming to an understanding and Czechoslovakia would prefer not to be at the tail-end of detente.

Last but not least Czechoslovakia is keenly interested in establishing normal relations with the aim of expanding economic ties with this country.

Nonetheless the Rubicon has yet to be crossed. The fact that Czechoslovakia was the first victim of Hitler's war of aggression complicates agreement on a solution that both pays due regard to moral considerations and represents an objective compromise acceptable to both sides.

Now that the two sides' formulas on the invalidity of the Munich Agreement have, as State Secretary Frank put it, been specified to the point at which a decision can be taken Bonn is now awaiting a further signal from Prague.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, 26 November 1971)

Continued from page 1

prepared to talk at the present moment.

The real reason for Pompidou being given first crack of the whip is presumably that the President of the United States is most concerned with talking to his most prickly ally – viz. the currency crisis, viz. disarmament – before conferring with those on whom he has placed greater reliance.

Nevertheless this preference shown to France fits in well with the appeasement policy of the Elysée which has taken the place of the old go-getting, hard-hitting French line.

It cannot be denied often enough that this line in any way contradicts the basic Gaullist principles.

The most important element of this is France's independence, especially its military independence. So far nobody has denied that the French appeal to the Americans "leave troops in Europe" runs contrary to this.

Hans Klein

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 November 1971)

Peking and the question of other divided nations

Soundings in Bonn as to whether Bonn's attitude towards China has changed in any way since Peking's admission to the United Nations have difficulty in reaching firm ground.

At Unesco the Federal government advocated following the recommendation of the UN General Assembly and offering Peking the Chinese seat in the Paris-based UN organisation.

Bonn was careful to add, however, that this advocacy did not represent a deliberate political move but was merely a consequence of this country's view that the General Assembly is the sole arbiter of political conflicts and that subsidiary organisations ought to steer clear of them.

Both the government and the Opposition are, for the time being, awaiting further developments.

Peking too will need some time to clarify its position in the world organisation and all that it entails, including not only the further establishment of relations with Third World countries but also ties with Europe.

The Chinese mission in Vienna is reputed to be a training centre for diplomats who may later be despatched to other Western European countries, including, of course, Bonn.

At present Peking's sole representatives in the Federal capital are two correspondents of the New China News Agenciy, at least one of whom is said to be attached to the Chinese Foreign Ministry.

China's views on relations with the European Economic Community are also a moot question. Encouraging Chinese comments about the Common Market are being made, particularly now that four further countries are to join and make the EEC further comply with the Chinese concept of intermediate countries alongside the United States and the Soviet Union.

But there is no clear indication of the specific moves likely to result from this outlook.

Peking's attitude is particularly complicated as regards the situation in Germany. Despite many rebuffs from East Berlin China has repeatedly tried to strengthen the GDR's hand against the Soviet Union and in recent years Walter Ulbricht took care not to say anything directed against the Chinese.

Under his successor, Erich Honecker, a more virulent note has been sounded in accordance with the general policy line pursued by Moscow.

Honecker himself and other members of the GDR politbureau have joined the ranks of these who accuse China of betraying the socialist camp or at least of not showing solidarity with it.

This attitude has gained in volume since the Four-Power agreement on Berlin and a commentary in the Peking *People's Daily* of 9 September to the effect that by signing the agreement the Soviet Union has unscrupulously betrayed the sovereignty of the GDR.

In an official rejoinder a few days later the East Berlin Socialist Unity Party noted that Peking leaves Hong Kong alone in the interest of its relations with Great Britain "yet sheds crocodile tears when, thanks to the USSR, one of the most dangerous hotspots in Europe – West Berlin – is defused."

"The Chinese leaders doubtless propose to feather their own nest by means of fostering tension in Europe," *Neues Deutschland*, the official East Berlin daily, commented.

This hardly sounds as though the GDR holds forth the prospect of becoming a further friend of China's in the Eastern Bloc in the manner of, say, Rumania. But since Peking has yet finally to come to this conclusion People's China will continue for some while to keep its distance from Bonn.

Even a formalisation of commercial links in the shape of a trade agreement would presuppose that China accepts the manifold links between West Berlin and the Federal Republic sanctioned for the first time in the Four-Power Agreement.

In the circumstances Peking will not have greater leeway until the Berlin Agreement has come into force and is then a fact that China can no longer ignore.

In the meantime neither side is likely to make advances. This country would not object to talks but is unlikely to grasp the initiative until the Moscow and Warsaw treaties and the Berlin Agreement have come into force.

Besides, it remains to be seen (and Bonn would appear to be well aware of the fact) what repercussions Peking's entry into the UN, and in particular the Security Council, will have on the so-called divided nations.

At the beginning of the autumn session of the General Assembly in New York UN Secretary-General U Thant expressed the well-meaning but fairly unrealistic hope that these countries might be admitted to the United Nations in the course of next year.

No one can tell what attitude Peking is going to adopt on this point after having been so successful with its insistence on a one-China policy on the East River.

Is Mao Tse-tung in future going to insist that only North Vietnam and North Korea are entitled to represent their divided people at the United Nations? Is Mao prepared to go to the extent of using his Security Council veto in support of this claim?

And what attitude will China adopt in relation to divided Germany?

Dettmar Cramer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 November 1971)

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■ POLITICS

Ideologists revel in clouding the political realities

Even before the SPD party-political conference got under way the ideological Beckmessers and those who believe they can smell a radical a mile away had made their judgments. No matter what the SPD had to offer in the way of ideas concerning tax reform, accumulation of capital wealth in private hands and the handling of the mass media the judgment was unaltered.

The editor-in-chief of the Hamburg daily *Die Welt* knew in advance that "the true spirit of the (SPD) party is clearly expressed with directness and without prevarication in their radical moves which will not be backed by the majority."

Before the first speech was made he could hear the shattering of glass as the chandeliers came crashing down in the marble halls of the Establishment. He suspected that revolution was already fomenting in the sewers.

It is the cheapest technique in the political war game to heap suspicions of ideological fervour on one's opponent. And many people are taking part in the battle of wits that is being fought at present in the Federal Republic.

Both sides are calling up home-made spooks to fight on their side in this battle of nerves. For instance many critics of the FDP could not find any better argument to level against them at their party-political conference than that "even the liberals are dabbling in Socialism now".

Now it is the turn of the SPD to be the target of the mudslingers, who have so far had abuse such as "reactionary", "fascist" and "nationalist" hurled at them. This latter is a CDU cliché and has little in common with the truth.

Anyone who likes to believe this assessment of the SPD could be led to believe that the party is run by a triumvirate consisting of Karsten Voigt, Jochen Steffen and Thomas von der Vring. And these three names themselves would be thrown up as a kind of ism that has little to do with the actual flesh-and-blood people.

Those who follow SPD ideologies would be likely to believe that the CDU/CSU is represented by Richard Jäger, Baron Karl Theodor Friedrich von und zu Guttenberg and Fritz Berg.

Politics in the Federal Republic is so wrapped up in ideological wrapping paper that its actual outlines can scarcely be made out. Mindless tittle-tattle about re-ideologicalisation and polarisation in the Bundestag and all the polemical hoo-haa has clouded people's vision so much that few can see how close the views of the two major parties are.

If the theory of political convergence has any meaning anywhere then it is in Bonn's domestic policies. It is just that nobody has noticed this because of the wide gap between the actual content of party politics and the image it has gained.

Certainly the Opposition expressed its rejection of the government's policies in the severest terms in the first eighteen months of this legislative period. But even at the outset the dividing line between the parties was not so thick.

This was one of the main reasons why the differences that existed were transposed into ideological battles and these were emphasised as far as possible so that the lack of substance in parliamentary battles would not be so obvious.

The Opposition takes advantage of every opportunity for confrontation. One vestige of this old strategy was in evidence recently when an argument broke out over rent legislation. The CDU/CSU attacked this in all quarters until it was proved conclusively to the Opposition that it did not have a majority in the Bundestag. Today the prevailing attitude in the "Union" parties is: "We won't do that again in a hurry."

"The CDU/CSU leadership has gradually changed its technique of opposition, and this without doubt for tactical reasons. The "Union" parties do not want to be written off as the eternal deniers. They have realised that the 1973 general election battle will not be fought on those peripheral areas where ideological battle cries have an effect.

At these elections the decisive group of voters will be those in the middle who generally give a sober and critical appraisal of the situation and do not have any particular party allegiance – the floating voters. All-out criticism of Socialist ideals is not likely to cut any ice with them.

It is also true that the middle-of-the-road voter is not likely to be reached with emotional appeals against the Ostpolitik. Expressions such as "treason" and "sell-out" leave them cold.

Franz Josef Strauss (CSU), who is capabale of giving even dyed-in-the-wool right-wing voters the collywobbles, has no admirers in this group.

This is the most important reason why the CSU boss never had a serious chance of being made the "Union" pretender to the Chancellorship. And as a consequence Rainer Barzel is now trying to make the image of the Opposition's opposition fit in with the ideas of the middle-of-the-road voting group.

The CDU/CSU are not arguing against all reforms per se, but are calling for "solid" reforms; they are not coming out against detente as such, but are calling for "genuine" detente. Again and again the Opposition is presenting a united front.

This does not mean that the Opposition has made a complete volte-face. It just means that for the time being they are limiting the fight to a short front on less important fields of battle where they feel they can make ground. And it does not mean that they have given up appealing to emotions entirely, nor that their recourse to the great ideological battle of words has been ended at last. Nevertheless these tendencies have been checked considerably.

Rainer Barzel's most recent speech in the Bundestag on company law, in which he was most discriminating about the advantages and disadvantages of this legislation from the Opposition's point of view is a pointer to the new style.

But he made this speech with some difficulty. The Opposition worked on the formulation of this legislation and many of the suggestions they made are in the final version. A group within the CDU/CSU parliamentary party has expressed its approval of this legislation despite the efforts made by Barzel and Strauss to get the Opposition to reject it.

Precisely this discussion of company law shows how artificial this ideological exaggeration of the conflicts on domestic policies is. The parties are often separated in their attitudes by nothing more than nuances.

This is true for a wide range of issues. As far as social welfare policies are concerned all parties are basically faced with the same problems and treat them in largely similar ways.

The overwhelming consensus of opinion in all parties says that the State needs more money to take care of public expenditure on matters such as improving educational faccilities, and to bring about a fairer share-out of the country's wealth and improve the situation on the factory floor.

All parties are fighting to solve the problem of how the social setup in this country can be made more just without productivity declining.

Time and again people are asking whether the wellfare State which creates an ever-increasing network of institutions and organisations in order to help the individual will not in the end stifle the individual's freedom.

And even when it comes to Ostpolitik the differences between the parties are not so great as the ideologists like us to think.

Today in the Bundestag – and this is a far cry from the fifties – it is easy to obtain a two-thirds majority on most domestic affairs questions.

The chief burgomaster of Munich, Dr Hans Jochen Vogel, is outspoken when expressing his theories on social welfare and could today count on receiving applause even at the CDU party-political conference.

The FDP's reforming zealot, Professor Werner Maihofer, could also make many a comrade enthusiastic and Hans Katzer and Helmut Kohl would not look too out of place at an SPD party-political conference. It is this large middle-of-the-road group that makes most of the policies, in effect.

The ideologists are just a rather shrill backing group. To this extent the left-wing critics of society are quite right – the breadth of actual political conflict is basically quite narrow.

Decisions that will be taken at the SPD conference will not increase the sphere of debatable issues very greatly. A reading of the commission's report on the mass media shows quite clearly that very few radical demands have been made.

In a large number of words this paper says quite simply that it is difficult to make a policy for the press – not a new or revolutionary idea.

And if the top rate of income tax is increased by two per cent this does not necessarily mean that the SPD leadership has bowed to left-wing extremist pressure.

Of course there are degrees of difference between their ideas and those of the other parties and there is a big question mark about whether all their plans are the right ones and whether they can be put into practice.

But anyone who measures them on the yardstick of ideologies will certainly not be doing them justice. Moreover they are not binding for the present government any more than the party conference decisions taken by the CDU or even the CSU give an accurate picture of the politics to be pursued by a future CDU/CSU government.

Nor do the left wing of the SPD and the extreme right of the "Union" parties give an accurate and useful guide to future policies of these parties. But the ideology wallahs do not want to admit this.

Studying ideologies can be of use to show the scale of values on which the political parties base their activities.

Rolf Zundel

(Die Zeit, 19 November 1971)

Von Thadden resigns from NPD leadership

All Soul's Day 1971 marked the passing of another short-lived mortal – the National Democratic Party, NPD. It's body is still clinically alive, but now that its Chairman Adolf von Thadden has resigned the NPD's grave can be dug.

The end could be seen coming. Since Thadden's right-wing extremists suffered heavy losses at the 1969 general election there has been a downhill slide. The provincial assemblies divested themselves one by one of the National Democrats who were consorting with criminals.

This party that came into existence seven years ago dredging up old phrases about "creating a new Germany" was a lost cause.

Thadden who had tried his luck earlier with other right-wing groups never quite made it as a *Führer* and with the formation of his own party he was unable to lay the old ghosts he had awakened. The right-wing bully boys held sway in the NPD.

Leading into the fifth party-political conference of the NPD Adolf von Thadden rallied his forces with the cry that "The Brandt era must be written off as a brief episode in 1973".

Now we see that it was the NPD venture that proved to be the brief episode. As for Thadden he is now looking for a job, of necessity outside politics – and that will not be easy, as he has never learnt a trade.

(Die Zeit, 26 November 1971)

Brandt runs risk of becoming too much of a statesman

Rainer Barzel the leader of the Opposition, has spoken of the "solidarity of democrats". Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt has expressed his desire to see the Bundestag make a joint declaration of this country's peaceful intentions, swear an oath of loyalty to the Nation and voice its wish to see a united Europe.

An attempt to at least summon up all the forces of Good in the Nation and take the Opposition at its word? Why ever not?

However, the Grand Coalition also managed to make similar declarations of intent, which did not stop the SPD and the CDU/CSU from later embarking on a bitter battle over Ostpolitik and the German Question.

At the moment both sides are taking a breather. Government and Opposition are polishing up their bayonets for the next charge. And another charge will come without doubt at the Baden-Württemberg provincial assembly elections if not sooner.

The government coalition will undoubtedly do everything in its power to cash in on the growing popularity of its Ostpolitik. All this lofty declamation cannot prevent the government and Opposition fighting tooth and nail all along the line so that the fur flies. But the direction in which they are heading and their aims cannot actually be kept separate.

There is a practical significance to this, affecting the next six months. Even the most kindly of observers in Bonn believe they have discovered that the Chancellor has of late grown into a statesman at such a rate that he has a wide field of vision from his lofty perch and can no longer see the jagged rocks just a few yards down below his feet.

Perhaps this is doing Willy Brandt an injustice. But that is why there has been a kindly request to Willy Brandt that he should not become too much of a statesman and too aloof.

The boundaries between the great rhetoric destined for the history books and Sunday afternoon speechers are fluid. And sermons should be left to those who preach them the best – the likes of Rainer Candidus Barzel and Kurt Georg Kiesinger.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 November 1971)

THE PRESS

PUBLIK

Conservative bishops axe short-lived Catholic weekly *Publik*

Professor Karl Rahner, Germany's most important theologian, recently described the demise of the Catholic weekly *Publik* as an irrevocable withdrawal into an ecclesiastical ghetto.

It was, he said, a step towards a Church resigning itself to having significance in public life in this country. As such, it was a day of misfortune for German Catholicism.

The misfortune can be dated accurately. On Monday 15 November the 22 bishops at the full assembly of the Diocesan Association decided at the end of a five-hour debate that *Publik* would be offered no more financial aid. This meant its immediate disappearance.

The final sentence of the last lead article by editor-in-chief Alois Schardt in the last issue of *Publik* sounds like the final salute of the crew of a ship that fought steadfastly to the end only to be sunk by a torpedo. *Publik* editorial staff would like to take its leave with this issue," he wrote.

The five years in which *Publik* played a role in German Catholicism – two years in the planning stages and three as an actual newspaper – reflect the ups and downs of the history of the Church in this country since the Second Vatican Council.

The *aggiornamento* of Pope John XXIII which signalled the Church's readiness to conduct a dialogue with the outside world and the slight tendency to the left continued by Pope Paul VI had brought the creation of a non-existent quality Catholic newspaper within the realms of possibility in the Federal Republic after *twenty years of ecclesiastical restoration with its strict black and white ideology.*

The idea behind the paper was discussed as long and so obstinately as the choice of its name. The conservatives considered creating a nationwide campaigning newspaper with a sledgehammer approach.

Cologne's Vicar General Teusch, one of the most reactionary financial men in the German Church, had already thought up its name – *Wahrheit* (Truth). But this idea was dropped as the committee that worked on the founding arrangements did not want to set up a Catholic version of *Pravda*.

Instead, the late Hans Suttner, the main driving force behind the planning arrangements pushed through his idea. The paper was meant to draw public attention to the fact that the word Catholic had once meant "worldwide" and "open to the world".

Schardt quoted Suttner once again in his last lead article: "This newspaper will only be able to survive if it manages to ask and answer questions without inhibition and irrespective of what is opportune or inopportune, beneficial or scarcely beneficial."

This forecast is a fair comment on the cause of the paper's death. In a Church that is swimming in more money than ever before it is not the six million Marks annual subsidy that led to *Publik* folding up but the fact that the paper was felt to be "inopportune" and "scarcely beneficial" by both the conservative majority in the hierarchy and the political right-wingers in Catholicism as a whole.

The West German bishops lost their post-Council euphoria soon after returning from Rome when they began to understand the implications of the decisions made and when both priests and laymen started to demand the same rights to be informed and to have a say in affairs as the bishops had done from the Pope and Curia.

The bishops noted with surprise and alarm how serious the Catholic were in their claims after the rebuff for *Humanae vitae* and the revolt against the archaic undemocratic organisation of the Church as an institution at the Catholic Congress in Essen.

Publik appeared on the market with the initial backing of fifteen million Marks from the bishops at the same time as the bishops started to check these developments in September 1968.

A year later, in November 1969, it was found that the paper's financial situation was not so strong as expected. By then only half the bishops were still prepared to continue financing it.

After three years in which *Publik* had built up its circulation to 90,000 and gained considerable journalistic repute there only remained a handful of bishops who wanted to continue the payments but they were unable to overcome the massive opposition of the well-organised right wing.

The conservative bishops now believe that church affairs should be restricted more and more to the faithful members. The only thing demanded of other Catholics is that they pay their taxes to the Church. Those groups of priests calling for solidarity have described this tendency as the ideology of the small flock and pile of money.

The North Rhine-Westphalia bishops always appear as a well-organised pressure group though they were without Bishop Tenhumberg of Münster on this issue, and they had already prepared the paper's downfall.

A few days before the paper folded up all the Vicars-General from North Rhine-Westphalia met for talks in Düsseldorf and the Diocesan Association Committee had already drawn up its budget involving 130 million Marks without making allowances for *Publik*.

Chaplain to the forces, Bishop Hengsbach of Essen, headed the committee to which Teusch and Forster also belonged. The Bishop, who had been all for *Publik* when a member of the original committee and could only just be restrained from turning it into a daily, became one of its main opponents in the end.

Forster is a similar case. He now considers his attempted tactical flirtation with the Social Democrats ten years ago at the Bavarian Catholic Academy to have been a mistake because the SPD did not kiss the ringed finger proferred to them with a sufficiently deferential genuflection.

Teusch and Forster were both on the Finance Committee for the last time when the *Publik* decision was taken. This death-blow was their joint final coup on the committee.

The withdrawal from the dialogue with the world back into the ghetto was already sounded by the conservative majority of the Bishops Conference two years ago at least. It certainly came no later than the start of the SPD/FDP coalition.

The purely ecclesiastical reason for this was that free theological discussion and the growing independence of lay Catholics was undermining the authoritarian and hierarchic rule in the Church's institutions.

The political reason was that the bishops and conservative CDU/CSU politicians thought a return of the CDU/CSU to power and the concomitant restoration of Church influence over the government would only be possible if the Catholic voters who had turned to the SPD could be regained.

Publik did not seem beneficial enough to either aim.

All attempts by progressive Catholics and Christian Democrat politicians like Helmut Kohl and Bernhard Vogel to prevent *Publik* from closing or being merged with the right-wing *Rheinische Merkur* failed because of the firm intention of the majority of the bishops to wind up the paper.

The extent of the bishops' "regret" at losing their former quality newspaper can be read from the four-page *Announcements by the Bishops Conference Secretariat* penned by Prelate Forster.

There is no word of praise for the well-made paper, no word of gratitude for editors, but only a shabby attempt to shift the blame for its close-down from the bishops to the staff.

The statement announced that there could be no excuse for financing is definitely a paper for forty thousand regular subscribers where each issue cost readers one Mark but Catholics as a whole about three Marks.

This type of calculation is never made when constructing new expensive church buildings which will only be used by a small proportion of those people paying taxes to the Church.

Publik was launched three years ago as a new first-class product in the ecclesiastical press. Catholic journalism is now travelling third class once again.

Hannes Burger

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 November 1971)

Weekly magazines fight for increased readership

Sceptics who from the very beginning prophesied the Catholic weekly *Publik* a none too happy future have been proved right on all counts. Their forecast has come true. They believed that a highly-reputed Catholic paper with broad horizons could not help attracting increasing opposition within the Church.

Launching a large new weekly newspaper also presents an almost insurmountable economic risk. Catholic bishops had pumped almost thirty million Marks into *Publik* during the past five years and it was difficult to forecast how long vast financial aid of this type would have been necessary.

Increased circulation alone was insufficient to strengthen the position of the publishers and editorial staff against those people who had waited impatiently for the paper's economic consolidation and who were unhappy anyway with its progressive views.

Increases in readership and advertising revenue were always eaten away by rapidly rising prices. The rise in circulation by 17,300 to almost 91,000 since the third quarter of 1970 did not manage to pass the magic number of 100,000 aimed for at a relatively early stage in the paper's existence.

In view of costs and advertising revenue for 1970 the publishers, *Die Gesellschaft für Publizistik* in which the bishops are represented through fourteen trustees, among them Hermann Abs and Georg Leber, believed that *Publik* could run at a profit if it sold 130,000 copies.

The all too slow growth of *Publik* confirms once again how confined the weeklies market is. *Publik* was unable to gain much ground despite the fact that the Catholic press claims a total circulation of some thirteen to fourteen million.

Many of the non-Catholics who always spoke admiringly of *Publik* and today regret its end were not subscribers and did not buy it regularly at newsagents. Their oft-repeated excuse was that they had enough to read over the weekend and on their spare evenings.

It is this objection that restricts any further expansion of the weeklies market. Weekly readers seem to be largely catered for though some papers do manage to improve their circulation from time to time.

The only striking success is *Die Zeit*, the best-selling weekly newspaper. Its circulation of 276,000 during the third quarter of 1971 is almost 17,900 higher than the comparative period last year.

Other weekly newspapers find it hard to develop in the shadow of Dr Gerd Bucerius' *Die Zeit*. But even Bucerius comes up against problems time and again when trying to ensure that his weekly remains economically viable.

Most years in the history of *Die Zeit* Gerd Bucerius has frankly admitted to being unable to prevent losses that he then covered from what he gained from his participation in the Gruner + Jahr concern.

In 1969 Bucerius was able to announce proudly a profit of 500,000 Marks. That was before prices began to spiral. He has tried to achieve lasting profitability by expanding the section of the paper containing advertisements offering employment and by providing manufacturers with the chance to advertise in colour in the special colour magazine included with the paper since October 1970.

More firms advertised positions vacant but Bucerius' new ideas have not proved completely successful. His hopes of turning the colour magazines into a well-filled advertising section have not fully materialised. Some issues have had little advertising.

The colour magazine has involved losses. When launching the colour supplement Bucerius forecast the sum that would be lost if advertising was insufficient. "Eight colour magazines with insufficient advertising would involve a loss of one million Marks and we cannot afford that," he said.

Deutsche Zeitung/Christ und Welt, the second largest weekly newspaper and firmly embedded in the Holtzbrink concern, is also aiming for expansion. But in the twelve months up to October 1971 the paper increased its circulation by only 3,445, thus passing the 150,000 mark.

The CSU's *Bayern Kurier* has managed to grow steadily because of its outspoken style. Circulation has risen by 2,700 to 123,000 since the third quarter of 1971.

Rheinische Merkur, published by the Ganske group and a direct competitor to *Publik* in the Catholic camp, can only announce sales of 51,000. About a

Continued on page 5.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Brandt successfully juggles balances at party conference

The most questionable feature of Willy Brandt's foreign policy seems to me to be that he is in the same position as Bismarck," one of the Chancellor's Cabinet colleagues once said in private conversation.

He went on to explain: "He is so skilful in juggling the large number of balls involved that you have to ask yourself with some concern whether any successor of this will be equal to the demands of the situation."

This revealing quote – which also gives some insight into affairs within the Social Democratic Party – deserves to be repeated for a number of reasons now that the SPD's party congress in Bonn is over.

Anyone who did not know it before knows now that Willy Brandt is also having to juggle with a large number of balls in domestic policy. What is more, the recent party congress showed quite plainly that Brandt, the undisputed leader of the Social Democrats, is having to show a great degree of concentration and caution if this complicated act is not to prove too much for him.

One of the most urgent warnings uttered by Willy Brandt during the heated debate on the fixing of the highest rate of Corporation Tax was that the cow which was to be milked should not be driven out of the country.

In other words, industry must not be brought into such a difficult position that the only way it can maintain profits is by emigrating to other Common Market countries.

The Chancellor's metaphor can be amended by saying that the cow that is to be milked must also be given something to eat.

Industry is not alone in needing resources to guarantee growth, full employment and profits. The State too requires more and more money to satisfy the demands placed on it by a necessarily insatiable industrial society. The question is how to deal justly with the vital interests of all groups.

Apart from that, it must not be overlooked that the recent party congress gave a preview of a new style of political battle that is likely to develop in politics in the future.

The new feature is a specialised debate on a restricted subject that is discussed with remarkable expertise for what is only a meeting of delegates.

The ideological phraseology of earlier congresses and the wallowing in Utopian dreams has been dispensed with but delegates are more determined than ever to put their proposals in operation.

That is why the SPD leadership, including Brandt, had a much tougher fight on their hands than might otherwise have been the case.

Delegates practically ignored the fact that any conflict is dangerous for a government with such a narrow majority and pressed their demands to their reasonable limits and sometimes beyond as was the case with their one-sided support for the Metalworkers' Union.

Considerable pressure is now facing the SPD/FDP coalition in the debates on tax reform, capital wealth accumulation, media policy – where the proposals of the executive were rejected wholesale – and on the abortion issue. The effects will be felt both inside and outside the party.

Despite problems of this type, it could be seen that the SPD leadership had not lost control over the party congress. A series of demands incompatible with economic common sense were checked.

But it would be too shortsighted to judge the results of this party congress from the specialist issues alone. Its value in the play of forces in domestic policy must also be considered.

One news item that seems to have nothing at all to do with the SPD party congress reveals one important feature of the political landscape.

It is no coincidence that National Democrat leader Adolf von Thadden has decided to throw in the towel, thus indicating the disintegration of the extreme right-wing party.

This welcome event was only possible because the established democratic parties had proved powerful enough to assimilate the extremist right wing and thus rob them of their dangerous treading on the borderline between legality and illegality.

This may be due more to the CDU and CSU but it would not have been possible without the fresh thinking that has gone on in all the main parties.

In the interplay of political forces the SPD is now faced with the no less tricky task of assimilating the extremist left wing.

If we are honest and objective, we must admit that in neither case can this mean that extremists are simply expelled and forced into the position of outsiders. Assimilation is only possible if the conflicting views of the establishment and the extremists are discussed and if possible reconciled.

From this point of view, the left wing of the SPD, with the Young Socialists at their head, have certainly adopted a more pragmatic position – revealing interesting shifts or obliteration of fronts between the left wing, centre and right wing of the SPD and even the FDP – while the party leaders have been forced to base their ideas of political practice more on the aims and ideas of the party as a whole.

The second half of the legislative period will show whether the three-day party congress in Bonn managed to restore some balance in the play of political forces both within and outside the SPD. One thing can already be stated with certainty – Willy Brandt is still a skilful juggler.

Oskar Fehrenbach

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 November 1971)



Chancellor Willy Brandt, leader of the SPD with Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, SPD party manager (centre) and Karl Schiller, Finance and Economic Affairs Minister in the Beethovenhalle, Bonn, where the SPD held its annual party conference

(Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

SPD discusses task of keeping the rank and file informed

The SPD is the first party to have discussed to any great depth questions of policy involving mass media at a party congress.

This was done with full recognition of the risks involved even that the resolutions drawn up in Bonn could, if developed further, form the basis of a slanted mass media policy or a State policy of influencing people through the communications media.

The freedom of the press must not become the plaything of the political parties in the same way as the freedom of broadcasting.

The flood of information, the organisational problems of the communications system and technical developments necessitate a communications policy, as Hamburg's Senator of the Interior, Heinz Ruhnau, explained.

The Social Democrats spent a whole day trying to thrash out a mass media policy. It is now up to the Opposition to realise the need of a rational communications policy and present alternatives.

But the Opposition's first superficial criticism of the work of the SPD delegates suggests that communications will long be an object of polemics though not of politics.

(Handelsblatt, 23 November 1971)

Continued from page 4

thousand of these have been added during the past twelve months.

Vorwärts, the Social Democrat paper, has more than 65,000 regular subscribers. Editor-in-chief Gündler plans to increase the circulation in the near future.

The extreme right-wing *National-Zeitung* is bought by ninty thousand people. On the extreme left wing *UZ (Unsere Zeit)* probably sells about 100,000 copies a week.

When weekly newspapers are being discussed mention is always made of *Das Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt* – unfortunately not only out of respect for the paper but also because of the regularly occurring doubts as to its economic stability.

Circulation dropped by 13,370 to 105,580 between the third quarter of 1970 and the comparable period this year. A merger with *Deutsche Zeitung/Christ und Welt* was considered as a solution to the paper's economic ills this spring but there was obviously a great deal of scepticism as to whether the two papers could be combined.

In May the Church promised to support the *Sonntagsblatt*. The German Evangelical Church's council and Ecclesiastical Conference issued a communique stating that the paper should be retained as a nationwide Protestant weekly. Member churches were asked to help. *Sonntagsblatt* has thus been drawn to a greater extent into Protestant journalism.

As it became clear that *Publik* was approaching its end there was talk of merging the Catholic weekly with the Evangelical *Sonntagsblatt* in ecumenical unity. But this was not much more than a mental exercise with little chance of being realised.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 November 1971)

Conference delegates attack superminister Karl Schiller

Minister Erhard Eppler was unwittingly forced to be an antagonist of superminister Karl Schiller at the Social Democrats' Party Congress in Bonn.

It was under Eppler's chairmanship that the party as a whole undertook to thrash out a well-considered overall programme for a policy involving increased government income from taxes.

During the debate on this programme the party congress provided a similar picture to the FDP congress held not long ago in Freiburg. It would have been easy to believe that this was a discussion between specialists putting the finishing touches to a new law.

Karl Schiller came forward with his objections of course. You should not write any cheques that could bounce in 1973, he warned, adding that it was stupid to announce a programme of tax increases at the very time that recession was beginning and the economy needed a shot in the arm.

Eppler countered that the tax programme was not intended for use in the current situation. An instrument had to be provided that could be used in the interest of economic policy when the time was ripe, he said.

Eppler has thus done a lot towards assimilating the left wing, though without being suspected an ideologist. This was a task that Brandt, because of his connections with Schiller, could not have performed to the same extent despite his undamaged reputation.

Eppler was not the only person to disagree with official party policies. A majority of delegates was unwilling to miss the opportunity of giving vent to their displeasure with Schiller and providing the "government wing" with food for thought, including the demand for a sixty-per-cent tax rate for top earners.

This has only provided ammunition for those people who want to foster the erroneous view that the delegates were discussing a redistribution-of-wealth law relying heavily on confiscation and about to enter the statute book at any moment.

There is the paradoxical consolation for the party that voters could be driven into the arms of the Free Democrats because of it – and if the FDP is not successful in the 1973 elections there will hardly be a Brandt government.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 November 1971)

■ DRAMA

Middle-of-the-road course may rescue contemporary theatre

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

During the course of last summer the periodical *Theater Heute* asked a number of large and not-so-large theatres throughout the country whether they had any idea of what sort of people attended their performances.

Most of the replies stated that there had never been a survey of the social composition of their audiences. The periodical came to the conclusion that the theatre knew nothing about its customers.

People may scornfully point out that the West German theatre does not need to know much about its audience as far as its social or any other sort of composition is concerned.

The existence and future of theatres in this country are after all guarenteed by their owners, the local authorities and the State bodies that support them.

The *Times Literary Supplement* took exception to this some time ago although it is most un-British to interfere in the affairs of another country.

The paper claimed that the subsidised theatre here was responsible for the deep division between theatre and audience, a division which has obviously been noted from as far away as London.

The British with their free-enterprise theatre system which has to sell seats or die seem to be taking revenge on the successful German theatre — eyed enviously even today — whose economic structure guarantees even the most insignificant municipal theatre a repertory programme, experimental drama and continued existence despite the increasing number of gaps in the auditorium.

After the publication of some spectacular figures on the declining audiences at a number of the larger theatres all the crisis talk — which is incidentally as much an historical part of the German theatre as the all-powerful director-general and the stage design — seems to have penetrated at long last to the last implications of the situation, namely the problems posed by an audience that does not turn up for performances. What could be more illogical than a theatre without an audience?

Observers within the theatre claim that leading producers and directors, even left-wing ones have recently adopted a new attitude towards their public. They are panicked by the fear of no longer working effectively.

In other words, the view seems to have got round that an audience cannot be educated or even politically activated until the producer has them in the theatre.

How did the theatres manage to lose their audiences? It was less the competition of other media such as television or national hobbies such as general affluence or travel than the consequence of a process of division within the theatre-going public itself.

Theatre-goers form a large minority within the general cultural framework because of the social or educational privileges they have acquired.

This large minority traditionally interested in the theatre remained a rather homogeneous and constant group for about twenty years.

They demanded three things of the theatre. It should regularly perform dramatic works passed down through the ages, it should be pleasurably didactic in the Brechtian sense and it could also be moderately contemporary and critical (Peter Weiss' *Investigation* or Rolf Hochhuth's *Representative* for instance).

Audiences declined with the transition from the existential age to a period dominated increasingly by critical theory. The large minority gave birth in its womb to a new, smaller minority of mainly young theatre-goers.

Instead of changing the world (what an antiquated expression!) this minority wanted and still want to destroy the world in general and the theatrical world in particular.

The theatre still seemed good enough and useful enough to contribute to its own extinction. Theatre people became caught in the backwash of this minority which juggled with new or pseudo-new ideas, with Marcuse and Marx, and seemed to have the future on its side.

The majority of the old minority on the other hand saw and sees no reason for departing from the idea of the theatre as a place of entertainment and moderate commitment.

This group can be largely identified with the liberal to progressive left-wing theatre-goers (left-wing in the old sense of the word) of that generation described by Gerhard Szczesny in his recently published book *Das sogenannte Gute*.

It is the generation of forty to sixty-year-olds which, despite the varying interests of its members, has had one experience in common — Hitler's barbarism.

They survived this barbarism by the skin of their teeth but remained obsessed by their war experiences, gaining from this a concept of liberty that seems to be infinitely resistant.

To simplify the issue a little, they find the present democratic system of the Federal Republic for the best of all possible worlds when compared to the tyrannical Nazi State, equivalent dictatorships today and any cock-eyed Utopia.

The confrontation of the two different groups of theatre-goers and theatre people had to follow. The most recent example came during a recent public debate in Stuttgart about Peter Weiss' *Hölderlin*.

Extreme left-wing theatre-goers scornfully challenged the success of the play and claimed that the older generation delighted in seeing the poor poet fail politically because of its own need of an alibi for political lethargy.

Paradoxically, left-wing producer Peter Palitzsch had to ally himself with the majority of theatre-goers and, with extensive use of rhetoric, defend *Hölderlin* against the attacks of the minority.

General observations of this type are surprisingly supported by the results of a survey conducted by the Frankfurt Municipal Theatre to show how old audiences in the city are.

It was found that 7.2 per cent of theatre-goers were aged between 16 and 21, eighteen per cent between 21 and 30, 23 per cent between 31 and 45, 24.7 per cent between 45 and 60 and 27.1 per cent were over sixty.

Despite all the caution called for when considering the results, the survey speaks volumes. It shows the small proportion of young theatre-goers and the dominance of the older age groups with their already-mentioned features and cultural needs.

One theatre manager stated that the reason for the alarmingly small proportion of theatre-goers between 21 and 30 was the tendency of this group to be distracted by learning, studying, marrying, saving and having children.

All in all, this list shows the difficulties that could face theatres wishing to recruit audiences exclusively or predominantly from the not inexhaustible reservoir of the younger generation. The future may be in the hands of the young, as the popular saying goes, but only in the future.

The future of the theatre, like many other spheres dependent on public support, seems to lie in the centre though this centre does not need to be completely harmless.

The polarisation of audiences and theatres may even have expanded the range of possibilities facing drama. It has at any rate indicated the path theatres can take.

There is a lot that can be performed between the barren museum-type theatre intent on satisfying its consumers and the extreme anti-theatre that seeks the uncensored opportunities of the street and turns away in disgust from any form of contemporary theatre.

It may be rather boring in the middle of the road — that must be admitted. There will be no spectacular success there and theatres will be unable to create a typical image for themselves.

The German theatre will not get out of the red by letting in people free (a course often suggested) or by spending more on advertising. It is up to those theatre people who do not fear hard work to take their profession by the scruff of its neck and restore some semblance of balance.

Theatre-goers — a group that will always remain a minority — must be told that they should do more than just lay their hands in their laps in anticipation of seeing something good.

Wolfgang Ignee
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 November 1971)

West Berlin exhibition shows variety of stage design

The problem was whether theatre could be performed while avoiding the result of all the theatre staff's efforts coming to resemble one of the usual exhibitions of stage design that are at least twelve a penny here.

The answer was provided by an exhibition entitled *Die Bühne als Forum* (The Stage as a Forum) and arranged by the New Berlin Art Society along with the Academy of Arts in the Academy House on the edge of the Tiergarten park.

More than seven hundred stage models, plans, sketches, figurettes, properties and working papers from two hundred performances show that theatre can still be performed if the staff and performers are skilful enough.

Willi Schmidt, the stage designer and producer, and colleague Ralph Wünsche obviously are. It was fun to wander around the rooms of the Academy viewing the exhibition they had arranged.

Memories of great theatrical events were revived, of Fehling's famous production of *The Flies* at Berlin's Hebbel Theater, the productions of the second part of *Faust* by Gründgens in Hamburg and Ernst Schröder in Berlin, Barlog's production of *Under Milk Wood*, Peter Stein's version of *Torquato Tasso* in Bremen, Strehler's Gorki production, the spectacular revues *Orlando Furioso* and *1789*, *La Mala* or the *Living Theatre* and its eight-hour *Paradise Now* which signalled the ensemble's crisis two years ago at Berlin's *Sportpalast*. At the time it was asked whether it was a crisis leading to its death throes or to new life. The exhibition was a look back without anger.

The exhibition is not intended as an Olympiad of scenography. The organisers did not aim for completeness and indeed could not have achieved it because of political considerations. Theatres and stage designers from East Berlin, Prague and Warsaw would have liked to have been represented but they are not permitted to attend by their respective governments until the East-West treaties have been ratified.

The organisers overcame this obstacle by copying their designs. Photographs and documentation from West German and Parisian theatre collections also helped to close some of the gaps caused by the non-participation of Eastern European theatres.

One interesting feature of the exhibition is the comparison of the various ways various artists from various times react to the challenge of one and the same text.

Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* was given a poetical though realistic setting in the Burgtheater in 1956 in the Teo Otto and Lindtberg production.

Eleven years later Wilfried Minks provided a peephole-type stage-cum-incubator resplendent with innumerable coloured bulbs for Peter Zadek's eccentric digest version of the play at the Bremen theatre.

Continued on page 7

Stage design for Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* produced at Darmstadt in 1966
(Photo: dpa)

■ OPERA

Israeli Josef Tal composes a hit for Hamburg

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Ashemedai in Jewish mythology is the name for the Devil and he takes the form of a chap with real and complex ties with the world and mankind as well as being a demonic prince of the underworld.

In Israel Eliraz' libretto to Josef Tal's opera *Ashemdai*, premiered recently at the Hamburg Staatsoper, this king of the devils wagers with the ruler of a country of peaceable farming folk that he cannot turn his subjects into a warlike race within one year.

The king, who is tied to a wife he does not love following a marriage of convenience for the sake of the State, agrees to accept this wager, glad in the knowledge that he will thereby be able to spend a year in the company of his mistress, the owner of a tavern, and her two daughters.

Ashmedai thus takes advantage of the power of the demagogue over his people to turn the peaceable rural dwellers into a fanatical, seething army. He unleashes war and lays the country waste.

The king has won his bet, but he realises too late the portent of his wager and refuses to mount his throne again.

His son, an alert and power-hungry lad, seizes the chance, has his father killed and drags his body before a court which pronounces the late king guilty of high treason.

The finale belongs to the triumphant Ashmedai who confirms the superiority of evil over good, the power of the dictator over mankind.

Without doubt the theme of this opera streches from the realms of the fairytale into real life and one need quote no examples to underline this.

It becomes a completely cynical parable when it is remembered that mankind learns nothing from such raging witch-hunts, pogroms and battles, terror, torture and destruction and that peoples time and again fall prey to the suggestive powers of the individual who leads them astray with the magical powers of his personality.

Josef Tal was commissioned by the Hamburg Staatsoper to write the score for this extraordinarily precise and malleable text by the librettist Eliraz. There is not one word too many. And the libretto blends perfectly with the Israeli composer's work.

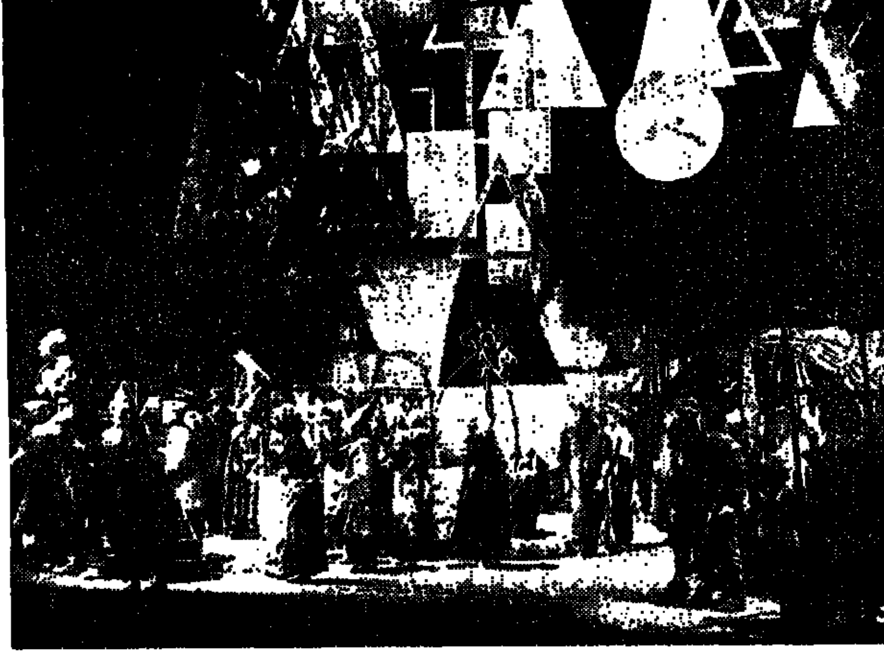
Tal was born near Posnan in 1910, studied in Berlin and emigrated to Israel in 1934. Today he lives in Jerusalem, has composed three operas, six piano concertos, two symphonies, chamber music and Lieder and despite prolific output he is as unknown in the Federal Republic as it is possible for an artist to be.

Not one note of his music can hide the fact that his ideas are based on Arnold Schoenberg's twelve-tone theory, but he has not confined himself simply to adapting this musical architecture, and this is borne out by the fact that he employs other features of musical composition, such as cleverly constructed aleatory and electronic effects.

For the Sturm und Drang fans the result may sound quite conservative, but there is no denying that the solidity and craftsmanship and profound intelligence of the score shows the work of an uncommonly imaginative musician, who, furthermore, must have a happy and untroubled relationship with the operatic stage. Josef Tal is as careful with his notes as his librettist was with the words.

The tense two acts of *Ashmedai* last no more than 135 minutes including the interval. But they are filled with colourful and clearly conceived music and the singing is pure delight.

This opera is, all in all, one of the best that Rolf Liebermann has premiered in his years as *Intendant* in Hamburg.


One of the scenes from Hamburg Staatsoper's production of *Ashmedai* by Josef Tal
(Photo: Fritz Peyer)

The production was up to the expected Hamburg standards, and everything, Leopold Lindtberg's *mise en scène* and the chereographic work by Dick Price, the soloists and the choir, were all first rate. Rarely have I seen such tense, accurately studied and yet spontaneous action on an opera stage.

Zbynek Kolar's costume design was precise and helped to give unity to the whole setting despite the obvious opposites in the most impressive way. The visual impressions were integrated into the acoustic and were equal to them in every way.

Hellmut Fellmer trained the chorus, which was in fine voice. Eckhard Maronn brought the electronic passages into line with the instrumental with great skill and Gary Bertini conducted with great care and deep understanding his fellow-countryman's score. The Hamburg Philharmonic reacted as involved and well trained partners.

With such skilful conducting and musicality the soloists felt themselves lifted, particularly Helmut Melchert as the perfidious devil-in-chief Ashmedai. Franz Grundheber sang and acted the part of the King's son brilliantly, as did Vladimir Ruzdak as the king, Inge Borkh as the queen, Christiane Hetzel as the tavern owner and Helga Thieme as her daughter were all excellent. May these names alone stand for a whole cast that was without exception brilliant.

Hans Otto Spingel
(Der Tagesspiegel, 12 November 1971)

Experts discuss in Loccum how the whodunit should be done

On the periphery of cultural activities there lives and thrives a secret power in the land. Its sphere of influence can and should not be overlooked and its following is well into the millions.

While so-called serious literature has been going through a decline for some time the crime novel has managed to keep publishers' tills ringing merrily. The needs of readers from all spheres and all educational backgrounds for exciting reading based on the happenings in the shady halfworld of the underworld seem to be omnipotent.

At the *Evangelische Akademie* in Loccum authors, critics, stage directors and scientists recently discussed the fiction and reality of the *Krimi* in West Germany today.

Anyone who thought this meeting would involve one-hundred-per-cent unanimity and a sage nodding of heads and tut-tutting about the place of the criminal novel in today's society knew from the start he had made a mistake.

Experts, however expert, still hold widely diverging views on the background of the *Krimi*, its influence on its readership and what its overall effect can be.

As far as the authors were concerned the demands were as usual that the detective story should be gripping, interesting and true-to-life. But even on this point unanimity could not be reached. What the one considered a natural element of all criminal stories was rejected by another as old-hat and cliché-ridden.

The scientists pointed out that the crime novel had an opportunity of giving young people a sense of social injustice, as well as entertaining and exciting them.

Professors Dahrendorf from Kiel and Hausmann from Hamburg criticised with vehemence at times the almost total lack of social criticism in this type of literature in West Germany.

And one point almost the whole conference agreed on was that their discussions lacked one vital ingredient — a consideration of the so-called crime serials in comics, such as Jerry Cotton. And the general public pointed out that when the crime novel was being studied it was essential to take crime serials into consideration as well.

But the experts had to pass this one. For the authors especially (Hansjörg Martin and Irene Rudrian) there was too much discussion in terms of blurred theory on a theme on which they considered themselves alone competent to speak.

The different attitudes taken quickly led to a building up of opposing fronts with the inevitable misunderstandings that always go hand in hand with such a battle.

What should the modern *Krimi* be like? Since the days of Edgar Allan Poe, Conan Doyle, Edgar Wallace and the other protagonists of the Classical crime thriller basic patterns have been built up. But today younger writers from overseas are casting grave doubts on these patterns.

The coloured American Chester Nimes for example uses the crime story as a vehicle to put across a tough criticism of racial discrimination in the United States.

The West German *Krimi* — and on this the conference was unanimous — makes much heavier weather of depicting a milieu than does the American or French version. Observation of real life is not careful enough, attention to detail is lacking and there is insufficient insight into the way the various characters would act and speak, according to the experts.

Gerhard Mauz, a court reporter, gave the authors the biggest smack in the eye. He said: "The *Krimi* has no resemblance to real life."

Wolf Scheller
(Kieler Nachrichten, 17 November 1971)



Continued from page 6

Visitors to the exhibition can look at the two versions and compare them. They will come to the conclusion that Otto's solution was the more valid. Zadek's modernist treatment has already become antiquated.

The scenery for three productions of Peter Weiss' *Marat/Sade* designed by one and the same stage designer illustrates the extent to which stage design is a function of the production's overall concept.

At the London premiere Peter Brook asked stage designer Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss to provide a sort of snake-pit that would not have fitted in with the production arranged by Swinarski for the Berlin premiere.

The exhibition proves a fact that has long been known though never illustrated in such depth in Germany before: there is no longer any generally valid rule-book for stage design.

Grotowski's *Poor Theatre* with its almost complete lack of location, decor and props contrasts with the poetic and detailed naturalism demanded by Noelte for his Chekov productions.

The gigantic stairway used by Josef Svoboda as a location or non-location for Sophocles' *Oedipus* (shades of Jessner!) is matched by the bizarre landscape flanked by two banks of spectators designed by Karl Ernst Herrmann for Peter Stein's production of Peer Gynt in Berlin's Schaubühne.

Pluralism has dominated international stage design since 1945. You could almost refer to an omnipresence of styles.

The arrangement of the exhibition posed problems. Schmidt's attempt to organise it according to themes was only half convincing when the plans for Weiss's *Investigation* or Kipphardt's *Oppenheimer* are included in the documentation section. Is Hochhuth's *Representative* an example of documentary drama or should it not be included in the section devoted to "betrayed Humanity"?

Hellmut Kotschenreuther
(Kieler Nachrichten, 12 November 1971)

HORTICULTURE

Nurserymen conserve grain strains in Brunswick research institute

A few hundred million carefully labelled grain corns — winter wheat, summer wheat, oats, rye and barley — are currently being stored in a deep-freeze installation at the Agricultural Research Institute at Völkenrode near Brunswick.

They are being kept in extremely dry air at a temperature of four degrees centigrade and their moisture content has been reduced to a maximum of six to eight per cent from the normal level of twelve to twenty per cent.

The grain, which should last for centuries under these conditions, is the first step on the way to a "gene bank". Cultivated plants are being stored so as to give future horticulturists a chance of breeding new types of corn with characteristics that might otherwise have died out.

This project, the subject of a recent report by Lothar Seidewitz to the Annual Congress of Agricultural Examinational and Research Institutes in Kiel, is part of a Western European scheme prompted by "Eucarpian", the European Association of Nurserymen.

Gene banks have been set up at or are planned for Stockholm, Bari and Brunswick. Nurserymen and agricultural scientists from north, central and southern Europe will provide them with material.

The Völkenrode team is still being built up. In 1947 the station will have some fifteen scientists to deal with the problems of genetics, physiology (this includes the survival of the grain corns) and documenting all the gene material available.

It is not a question of saving various plant species in danger of extinction. Nature conservation plays a minor role. It is not primarily biological or scientific problems that are involved either.

Scientists first suggested the establishment of gene banks when they observed that the important agricultural plants were being threatened by a shortage of includes the survival of the grain corns) tained in their wild-growing ancestors.

But many of these ancestors are unknown (where for instance did the tea plant originate?) or are threatened with extinction. The more primitive forms are tending to die out as they are being replaced by more productive species and are no longer being bred.

Strict selection is the basis of modern cultivation and genes are vanishing because nurserymen do not recognise them as they are unimportant to the immediate growth process and are not contained in the types of grain used for further breeding.

Seidewitz observed how older forms of corn were dying out in the Middle East. A few years ago Professor Kuckuck of Hanover also spent some time in this area and found a large number of primitive types of corn in the native farmers' fields. These are now stored in the gene bank at Völkenrode.

But today there is no longer the same variety in native wheat and barley. The various types of wheat have been replaced by Mexico wheat developed a few years ago.

Mexico wheat has meant the end of older forms as it is particularly fecund and therefore in great demand. But it is liable to be threatened at any time if, for instance, a fungus should spread to it.

To make this species more resistant through further breeding or to produce a similar wheat with the same yield, nurserymen may need the genes that are in danger of dying out as they are not needed immediately.

Modern horticulture is trying to ward off this danger by setting up gene banks containing if possible all the types of grain still existing or newly bred.

Nobody knows, even approximately, what qualities the collected grain corns have. The material must first be examined. Some indication of the extent of this work is given by the fact that about 150,000 types of wheat are stored at Fort Collins in the United States.

Japan, the Philippines and some Eastern Europan countries have also begun to set up gene banks. The researchers never restrict themselves to native forms and grain bred in their own country but look for samples all over the world, especially in developing countries which are important centres of natural forms and genes.

Expenditure is kept down to a reasonable level as the seeds take up little storage space. Five to seven thousand seeds of each of the available ten thousand species are being stored at present in Völkenrode.

The storage method now used — keeping the seeds at a temperature of four degrees centigrade — is only the beginning of the development of storage techniques. It is planned in future to keep the grain in vacuum flasks.

The seeds are stored at a temperature of minus twenty degrees centigrade in the Eastern European countries and experiments involving deep-freeze storage at temperatures of minus eighty look interesting even though this might not be the best method.

Plans are being drawn up for the further breeding of tissue cultures despite the enormous expenditure this would involve. But this method could prove necessary for plants that are not so genetically stable as grain but, like potatoes, reproduce vegetatively.

Harald Steiner

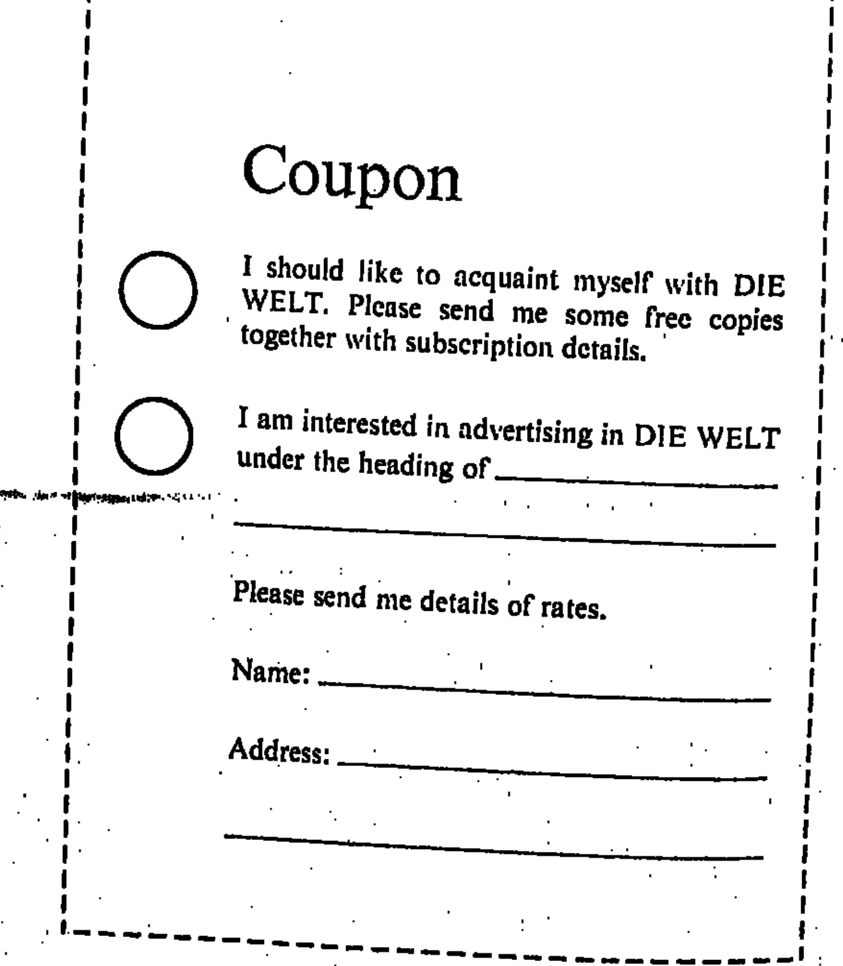
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 November 1971)

Excess weight a factor in diabetes

One and a half million people in the Federal Republic are diabetics while a further twenty-five per cent of the population are susceptible to the disease, it was announced at a three-day symposium organised in Ulm by the Endocrinological Research Association and the Brussels Research Group.

Though there is no one cause of diabetes the increased tendency to obesity is looked upon as a factor leading to the disease.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 November 1971)





MEDICINE

Industry should give more protection to the worker's ear

A young employee at a paper works cutting up the large rolls before delivering them to newspaper printers was always complaining about earache and deafness.

People had to raise their voices to talk to him for hours after his shift ended and he had to have his television set at full volume if he wanted to understand what he saw.

His workmates, all older than him, were not particularly bothered by the din and the inspector called in when the young man asked for sick leave was unable to hear any noise exceeding the normal level.

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG
Industriekurier

Could it have been something other than the normal factory din that caused the deafness?

The doctor who had called for the noise to be measured visited the works and came up with a new idea. He did not measure the noise level but analysed noise frequencies.

A sound or anything we feel to be noise is not the product of individual, clearly definable tones as music is. It is a curious, wildly-confused mixture of a vast multitude of influences.

We speak of noise as our ear does not hear clear sound sequences but a mixture of high, low, loud, soft, constant and varying sounds.

The frequency analysis showed that the works produced a very high tone lying far beyond normal sound strength. Older workers and the inspector could not hear it as a person's hearing does not pick up extremely high or low sounds as he grows older.

The noise heard by the young worker was not registered by his older colleagues and did not damage their hearing. Further investigation revealed that this high-frequency sound was produced by microscopic fissures in the machine's cutting edge. This harmful and avoidable flaw was then remedied — the noise had simply not been noticed before.

This example, brought up by Dr J. Kötter of Hanover at the Congress for Industrial Accident Protection and Industrial Medicine in Düsseldorf, shows the difficulties faced by noise prevention schemes when trying to solve one of the most urgent pollution problems.

Our world is plagued by noise as well as waste chemicals and gases. Noise cannot always be avoided but in many cases it can be reduced if its source is found.

Protection against noise is also available but unfortunately it is not always used. Noise protection methods, even a piece of specially prepared cotton wool, are often a nuisance, workers feel.

A lot of propaganda work will have to be undertaken by factory doctors and factory councils if those workers subject to noise are to do something to protect their hearing.

Dr Kötter therefore made a proposal which he himself described as provocative. He said that factories should pay not a noise allowance but nuisance money to make up for the inconvenience of wearing protective materials against noise. Only then would the workers affected make use of these protective methods, he added.

Another doctor continued in the same vein, complaining that the fixed-rate noise allowance was inhumane as it was in effect a means to purchase part of the good health of the person affected. Possible physical damage was being taken into account by granting wage increases.

Dr Klostkötter, the professor for industrial medicine for Essen, agreed with his colleagues, though he watered down their objections a little. "The noise permitted is fixed in workers' contracts," he said, "You try to get it abolished again."

He was just as sceptical when the discussion turned to the damage noise caused to the circulation: "A lot has been written about how lasting exposure to noise undermines our central nervous system. Unfortunately no experiments have managed to provide any proof of this. We are subject to so many stress factors in our life that it is hardly possible to say what their individual effects are. We should therefore restrict ourselves to the basics in our research and make sure that one of our most important sensual organs — the ear — suffers as little damage as possible."

Helmut Holscher

(Handelsblatt, 18 November 1971)

Leukaemia common in industrial areas

The International Haematology Congress currently being held at Cologne University is discussing the question of whether air pollution can provoke leukaemia.

Research work in Britain has shown that leukaemia increases as one leaves the rural north and approaches the industrialised south.

In the United States too leukaemia is more common in the industrialised north than in the rural south.

Haematologists therefore believe it possible that radiation, fuel exhausts and waste chemical gases provoke cases of leukaemia.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 October 1971)

Researchers discover skin secret

Wrinkles and crowsfeet may soon be a thing of the past, for a team of Hamburg scientists claim to have discovered a way of keeping a person's skin youthful right up to old age.

The team is made up of the well-known dermatologist Professor Gustav Hopf and two researchers employed by the Promonta Laboratories — Joachim König and Günter Padberg.

Dr Padberg stated that the team has managed to influence the skin's water retention by means of a new discovery.

The researchers started off with the assumption that human skin became wrinkled because of the increasing loss of water as people grow older.

That is why scientists working in this field have long sought substances contributing to water retention. Professor Hopf for instance had researched the problem for a long time before the latest success.

König and Padberg state in their report that they have found the substance aiding water retention in the horny layers of the skin. It is a carbohydrate substance combining with the Keratine that is the main element composing human skin.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 November 1971)

Few women take advantage of cancer prevention clinics

Less than ten per cent of all women regularly attend the medical examinations arranged as part of cancer prevention projects.

The Preventive Health Committee and the Federal Medical Association's Scientific Council have worked out special programmes for preventive examinations.

Publicity has been given to the service in a number of ways and sickness insurance schemes have accepted doctors' proposals and agreed to take over the cost of the examinations so as to encourage their clients to do all they can to contribute to the early recognition of any diseases they may have.

But the results have been mediocre. Most people seem to attach more importance to their cars than to their own wellbeing. A survey has shown that 77 per cent of all women and 68 per cent of all men regularly take their vehicles to a garage to be inspected. Only 23 per cent of the population ask for the preventive medical examinations.

The Medical Association's action programme is aimed primarily at the early recognition of particularly dangerous diseases affecting certain age groups. Most attention is paid to babies and small children, women over thirty and men above 45.

But this does not mean to say that people coming under other categories are barred from having a free examination. Not belonging to one of the specified groups is no excuse for doing nothing. The Medical Association has turned first of all to the particularly critical groups and included only the most urgent measures in its programme.

Almost one per cent of the children born in the Federal Republic remain handicapped because a disease or pathological disorder in their development is not diagnosed until it is too late to institute remedial treatment.

Systematic examinations run along standardised lines would quickly reveal physical and mental disorders and ensure the healthy development of a child.

The early recognition of a disease aids its treatment. Hopes of a cure are increased as every complaint has its preliminary stages. But the more advanced a disease becomes, the less chance of a cure there is.

Rarely has anything been so easy for the client of a sickness insurance scheme as the preventive medical examination. Special programmes exist and these are not only available to doctors — anyone interested can obtain them.

Some insurance companies are now drawing up individual preventive programmes and the preventive examination demanded is covered by the insurance scheme. The client has only to step forward. Medical examinations have never been so attractive.

(Handelsblatt, 4 November 1971)

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

Bridge spanning economic waters could be made of gold after all

Experts in economics and politics were the last people to have forecast that the international currency crisis would have brought the rehabilitation of gold in its wake. Bankers and financiers probably expected that gold had shot its bolt.

But there are growing signs that gold, so despised by the theoreticians, will have an important role to play in the new international currency system.

It will not be gold as a means of exchange or as a currency reserve, a role that it can only play to a very limited extent. There is no question of that, but gold as a yardstick, a role in which it is much better than any kind of price index however carefully this may be worked out.

It is a question of whether Europe and America are about to embark on a trade war which would harm all concerned or whether new parities can be worked out by means of mutual trade concessions for the benefit of all concerned.

This difficult business of give and take is complicated even further by the fact that the European Economic Community appears to be on the verge of increasing its numbers and hence its power as a world trading force.

This is therefore reason enough for the layman to bother himself with questions of this kind. Even the experts who are in dispute are finding it difficult to drum up the necessary weapons to fight this battle.

Did Willy Brandt put Georges Pompidou's back up? Or was the French President responsible for annoying the West German Chancellor?

People seem far keener to go on about such side effects of the currency crisis than to get down to brass tacks. But if no bridge can be built between Bonn and Paris it will also be impossible to work out a suitable answer for the gap between Europe and America. Is gold going to provide the material for building the bridge?

On 10 November Karl Klasen, the President of the Bundesbank, said that we must get back to a fixed rate of exchange for the Mark "as soon as possible". In recent weeks we have got much closer to this stage, he stated, and added: "Now we have only got to talk over the figures."

A little-known attempt to talk over the figures was made on 4 November in Versailles by the EEC finance ministers. Schiller called for "definite figures to be fixed for the new parities at long last".

According to information coming from Switzerland experts are supposed to have worked out a possible set of figures although the ministers had no part in this.

Their calculations make the Americans devalue the dollar by five per cent and West Germany revalue the Mark by five per cent. All that France is expected to do is to promise not to ape the Americans when they down-value their currency, and agree to keep the franc at its present gold parity.

A similar rule would apply to Britain and Italy if their plan were put into action. And as for Japan a maximum revaluation of ten per cent has been planned.

So the only concession Paris would have to make, according to the experts' calculations is that it would not follow in America's footsteps if the dollar were devalued. Thus the franc would only be revalued against the dollar whereas the Mark and yen would be revalued against all other currencies.

Thus the French Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has been asked the $64,000 question: "Is France prepared in the eventuality of the dollar being devalued to free itself from its old exchange rate against the dollar and remain at its present parity to gold?"

M. Giscard d'Estaing has always stubbornly maintained that the only parities to be altered should be those which are "fundamentally unbalanced" and this is not the case where the franc is concerned.

At any rate he has said that by fixed parity of the franc he understands the definition given of fixed parities by the International Monetary Fund, namely their exchange value against gold.

With one stride the French Minister has stepped on to the golden bridge, to the great satisfaction of Professor Schiller. As a return gesture on the part of Bonn he demanded greater preparedness to ward off hot money, which must be done by dirigistic measures or at least be made more difficult in this way.

On this point at least France would like to cure the Federal Republic of its dogmatic rejection of dirigism.

What does all this portend for the forthcoming talks between Willy Brandt and Georges Pompidou on currency problems? The French head of State is himself well informed about the material to be discussed and is not dependent on suggestions made to him by his Finance Minister.

In his long exposition of the French monetary and currency policies at the press conference on 23 September he already mentioned the two points that were to play such a large role in the discussions in Versailles: firstly joint action to prevent the flood of hot monies for speculative purposes and the role of gold as a yardstick for the value of currencies as a last resort.

On the first point Pompidou suggested providing an executive body for the Council of European Banks of Issue and offered Paris as the permanent seat of this body. Willy Brandt has already presented this suggestion enthusiastically to the Bundestag.

On the second point, namely the role to be played by gold, M. Pompidou has made a detailed basic declaration in which he said:

"I do not know how the monetary system will appear when the work has been finished. But France has one or two suggestions to make and principles to expound on this subject and we intend to stick to our guns. There can be no truly valid international currency system without fixed parities.

"Fixed parities must go hand in hand with something that can not be manipulated unilaterally or multilaterally *and that is gold*! It is unimportant whether one is in favour of creating the amount of liquid cash required by credit or by means of something resembling the (already existing) special drawing rights (from the IMF) insofar as these special drawing rights are covered by gold reserves and are *at least partially convertible into gold* and are under the control of the IMF, a monetary fund that is proof against all unilateral influences from outside.

"Furthermore all currencies must be convertible – not into gold, that is just a dream, but into one another."

These basic principles as expressed by a practical man who draws a clear dividing line between his dreams and what he realises is feasible should make the building of a golden bridge between Brandt and Pompidou a possibility.

Only then would the road to a united European front of the EEC countries be free, with the four applicant countries also being included and taking into consideration the other Efta members, who would be included in an industrial free trade zone.

We know that this massive European common market of sixteen countries is worrying the Americans who are calling for the same privileges for themselves as the six European countries who will not become full members of the Common Market are asking for. They do not want the bother of being burdened with the unfortunate agricultural market, but simply want to enjoy the industrial benefits.

The whole of Europe's currency calculations including those worked out by Pompidou and Brandt will only work out if the Americans devalue the dollar by a few points and raise the price of gold by a few points.

Europeans and the Japanese can only achieve this if they pay a price and the Americans offer trading privileges as a return gesture.

What is likely to spur all sides on is the worldwide worry about a possible recession.

At the request of the Americans the meeting of the Group of Ten to discuss currency problems which had originally been called for 22 November in Rome was postponed until December because Washington had not done its preparatory work. But have the Europeans done their preparatory work?

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 November 1971)

No light at the end of the economic tunnel

Sweet talk and soothing words from representatives of the government and the Bundesbank can no longer hide the stark reality that the latest economic developments in the Federal Republic are no longer part of a process of normalisation, but the beginnings of a recession.

High consumer spending is giving a falsified picture of the actual situation. The decisive factor, which will only become evident to the full extent next year, is that many companies have decided not to make new investments.

Investments that are still being made today hark back to company decisions made during the boom. There is scarcely even a hint of new major investment programmes let alone the actual execution of any. Thus we are at the beginning of a process of contraction, the end of which is not in sight.

Reluctance to invest is also hampering technical progress. Research departments in large industrial concerns are unable to do their job efficiently and profitably if the results of their experiments are no longer turned into new productivity because their company is unable to afford the new plant required on account of falling profits.

In medium sized and smaller companies the financial situation is even worse. What this portends for the future we can see already: the competitiveness of West German industry, already hard hit by the floating of the Mark which has had a marked effect of revaluation, making exports more expensive and bringing down the price of imports, must become even weaker, putting jobs in danger.

Even the hopes cherished by the Minister for Economic Affairs and Finance Professor Karl Schiller that fiscal measures, such as the repayment of the temporary ten-per-cent surcharge on income tax, will give the economy a quick and effective boost if need be seems to be an illusion.

Injections of booster drugs of this kind by the State helped in the 1966/67 recession, it is true. At that time in fact the State probably gave an overdose, gave the jab too early and helped to give a boost to the price rises that had begun to make themselves felt, as well.

However, the present situation is far removed from the economic scene of four years ago.

At that time it was possible for our industry to make up for waning orders at home by an export drive which was blessed with favourable economic conditions in many countries that were potential customers for our goods.

Today, however, with few exceptions, we find ourselves surrounded by countries whose economies are just as cool as our own.

In addition to this our exporters are fighting a constant battle to surmount the obstacles of the de facto revaluation of the Mark and America's measures to protect her own economy.

Not only that but the problem is made worse by the fact that constant price rises are making West German products dearer still.

Comparing present-day figures with those applying in 1966/67 we can see how much the situation has deteriorated since then. In September 1967 the growth in productivity in West German industry was twelve per cent while the increase in gross hourly pay was only 2.5 per cent.

So the growth in productivity was about five times as high as the rise in wages. This year the increase in productivity was only 5.5 per cent while gross hourly earnings increased by 12.8 per cent. So the increase in productivity is now not even half as high as the rise in pay.

A lot of ground could be made up if the floating of the Mark could be brought to an end. A return to the old parity of the Mark would of course not be possible, but the closer the future fixed parity of the Mark comes to its old parity the better this will be for industry and the employment situation in this country.

But probably it is even more important that West German industrialists should not let themselves be depressed by the crisis situation and be overcome by a feeling of helplessness.

The frustration and uncertainty of businessmen and industrialists is understandable of course. They are standing with their backs to the wall fighting a losing battle against spiralling costs, dwindling orders and profits and the excessive demands constantly being made on industry by the State.

But business managers must not allow the battle to wear them down. They must not give in to the great psychological pressures to which they are subjected and thus contribute to the downward slide of the economy.

They must step up their efforts to save through rationalisation and self-help, even though this is bound to involve sacrifices being made. But it is largely up to them to drag the cart out of the mire. It is up to the coalition government in Bonn to assist where possible and not to hinder at all.

Karl Heinrich Herchenröder

(Handelsblatt, 10 November 1971)

AGRICULTURE

Farm problems discussed down on the farm

A typical Anglian (Anglia: an area of Schleswig-Holstein from which the Angles came.) farmhouse. In the room that is "kept for best" there sit three dozen journalists and in addition to them several officials and experts from farming associations in the Federal state of Schleswig-Holstein.

The earning and expenditure of the 125-acre farm for the past four years are being studied, especially what remains below the line when all the sums have been done.

The figure for 1970/71 is 4,800 Marks, but with a minus sign in front of it. Farming family N. is no longer living off the proceeds of sales of its produce. Family N. is living from hand to mouth.

Grandfather P., who has been an old-age pensioner for five years no longer understands what makes the world go round. When he was in the prime of life he had his estates and he produced something.

Even today the big bold living quarters give the impression of opulence and fat living. When P. handed down the farm to his son-in-law it still required seven farmhands, but it managed to feed them all.

The number of farmhands in the financial year 1970/1971 is reckoned at 2.1. That is one man to till the fields, one man to manage the place and a woman who is counted as one tenth of a hand.

For the economic year 1971/1972 the farm will be laying off one hand.

Herr H., a farm engineer, economic adviser and bookkeeper said that in the light of the latest developments in prices and overheads the farm's dairy herd would be given up.

The farm's dairy herd consisting of 27 Anglian cows producing more than 4,000 kilograms of milk per annum with a 4.5 to 4.8 per cent fat content will be turned out of their stalls.

This autumn the number of dairy herds that have been given up in Anglia has been particularly high, according to the farmer and he added: "When the byre goes workers from outside have to go too.

"When this happens there are social risks on the farmyard even if twenty farmers form a management aid service. But in the end much bigger concerns come to this area and work the soil as a one-man operation. I reckon I will make it."

The adviser's heart bleeds that the dairy herd has got to go. It is to be regretted that on a farm such as this one man has to do all the work, with the result that all farmers find themselves overburdened.

In the long run this becomes an impossibility. What is the use of the best management advice service if the farmer is so tired at the end of the day that he falls asleep while trying to read it?

The adviser's recipe for success on the N. farm: cut costs by about 20,000 Marks per year of which 17,000 goes on wages to workers from outside. In addition cows must be fattened for slaughter and in particular the pig herd must be prepared for turning into pork and bacon. There are at present 270 pigs in the sties.

The main problem in this respect is the pork mountain. The farming engineer is worried that the overproduction of pork and bacon could become as serious as the excess of poultry.

In his opinion it would be possible to get agriculture in order if recognition were given to the thriving farms and they were supported and protected against "unfortunate circumstances such as imports from Eastern countries".

No one bothers to say that it would be almost impossible to convince the farmers of south-west Germany, many of whom work in industry that this would work and that politically it would be almost impossible to push measures limiting agricultural production to a number of modern large-scale farms.

About two years ago the farmers of Schleswig-Holstein yelled the EEC Vice-President down when he was talking in the Kiel Ostseehalle because of his plans to limit farming to modern large farms which were capable of development and able to stand on their own two feet. Have they already come round to Mansholt's way of thinking?

Not yet. For Hans-Jürgen Klinker, Chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein Farmers Union, the experts who work under him and Dr Zühlke, the Chairman of the Chamber of Agriculture, keep pointing out that even with examples such as the N's farm even an agricultural system with a sound structure, even Mansholt-style farms, cannot be helped without a twelve-per-cent price rise, an additional increase in value added tax which would improve the proceeds on producer prices and the ending of the levy for the adjustment of burdens.

Price increases of this kind are also being kept ready at the Schleswig-Holstein sugar company in the town of Schleswig. If every consumer were prepared to agree to pay two Pfennigs more per pound, they say, the company would be able to drag itself from the mire. But it must pay the fixed price for EEC beet and its costs are rising. Revaluation of the Mark made the margin for manufacture 3.66 Marks per hundred kilograms lower.

Herr Eigen, the acting Chairman of the Farmers Union has said that the EEC has more sugar than it knows what to do with and that the price is being kept high by limiting planting areas, fixing prices for beet and mixing beet sugar with cattle fodder which is subsidised. "The beet farmers need 5.22 Pfennigs per kilogram more."

If the consumer were to pay ten Pfennigs more per kilogram, six for the farmers and four for the manufacturers the sugar industry would be able to cover its costs. So the average citizen using thirty kilograms of sugar per year would only have to contribute an extra three Marks in twelve months and all would be sweet again for the sugar industry.

Country people are obviously not going to deny that all their problems could be ironed out in this way. Since the Schleswig-Holstein farmers staged their tractor demonstration there has been growing regard for the general opinion that we are going to have to pay more for our farm produce requirements.

But nobody is admitting that price rises will not solve the problem but simply postpone it.

Later one of them told me in private more frankly what he really thought to be the answer. He said: "There are two courses Herr N. can take. Either he must increase his dairy herd to 37 and milk them himself. Or he must stick to grain farming, but make this a job on the side and find himself more lucrative employment elsewhere."

Gerhard Hoepfner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 9 November 1971)

Milk trade to be reshaped

The beginning of reorganisation measures can be observed in the cooperative milk trade. The supervisory board of the milk, fat and egg marketing board has decided that the milk side of business should be detached from the MFE board and controlled by a new centralised milk marketing board derived from the present *milchwirtschaftliche Finanzierungs-AG* in Hamburg.

This board's capital will be increased from the present 2,800,000 Marks to ten million and will be renamed *Deutsches Milchkontor AG.*

The new milk marketing board will commence working in early 1972 and the division of responsibilities will be somewhat different from at present. Apart from the present associates such as the central dairy sales offices dairy companies will be direct associates as well, which has never been possible under the old MFE board.

This reorganisation was a necessary rationalisation measure, but the old MFE will still exist and will have a large interest in the poultry business.

In the past year the MFE turnover was 1,900 million Marks, excluding shares. Over ninety per cent of this turnover arose from the milk marketing business which is now being hived off.

The *Deutsches Milchkontor* will be concerned with the import and export of dairy produce, sales of milk with an extended shelf-life and the marketing of branded products on a nationwide basis, such as Delicado. It will also be concerned with the storage of products under State-run and private schemes.

(Handelsblatt, 9 November 1971)

1971 promises to be a vintage to remember

What is the connection between Cebion and wine? Naught more than that it consists of the "secret ingredient" L-ascorbic acid, which is not only a good defence against the flu, but also finds its uses as a preservative of foods and wine.

For those who feel like fighting flu with a glass of German wine 1971 is a vintage that should not and will not be forgotten, when wines promise to attain a quality which is all too rare.

Experts are talking of 1971 as a dream year and are comparing it with other famous vintages of this century, such as the "powerful 1959" and the "elegant fine bloom of the 1953 vintage".

Ironically 1945 when Europe was starving was a year that produced wines to remember although the quantities were understandably not high and few bottles survive from that year. Other years that go down in wine history are 1937, 1921 and 1911.

Spring was a little late this year and the vine shoots did not come through as early as usual. But by the end of May, beginning of June there were signs of heavy flowering on the vines. This was slowed by a cooler spell till the end of June.

The summer brought long mild periods and the blessed autumn protective mists and balmy sun all over the country gave the promise that this would be an exceptional year with a particularly high percentage of quality wines.

Vineyard owners are particularly grateful for the long hours of sunshine in the autumn which brought about the very best in "Nachreife" (late maturity) which is typical of all good years for German wines.

The more protracted the period of growth of the vines the longer they have to absorb minerals from the soil, giving the wine a great richness of taste and bouquet. The constant alternation of dry sunny days and the high humidity of misty weather is particularly beneficial for the late maturing grapes and has meant that in some cases really exceptional *Auslesen* and *Beerenauslesen* have been harvested.

The vats are now filled with maturing 1971 wine. Only the very latest of the *Spätlesen*, *Auslesen* and *Elsweine* are waiting to be harvested.

The average *Mostgewichte* (specific gravity of the must) are between 75 and 95 degrees and in some cases 100 degrees on the Öchsle scale, depending on the type of grape and the vineyard in question.

There has been a particularly heavy crop of *Auslesen* (lit. selected harvest) up to 125 degrees Öchsle and *Beerenauslesen* (lit. selected berries) and *Trockenbeerenauslesen* (raisin wine) up to 150 degrees Öchsle.

Rheingau for instance reports the following harvest: five per cent of normal *Qualitätsweine* (up to 72 degrees Öchsle), 35 per cent *Kabinettweine* (78 to 84 degrees Öchsle), fifty per cent *Spätlese* (lit. late harvest – more than 85 degrees Öchsle), five to ten per cent *Auslese* (above 95 degrees Öchsle in the case of the Riesling grape), *Beerenauslese* (125) and *Trockenbeerenauslese* (over 150 degrees).

The average specific gravity of the must was fifteen to twenty degrees Öchsle up on the albeit good results of last year. The Öchsle scale measures the specific gravity of the must – the juice obtained from grapes by pressing for winemaking.

From the specific gravity of the must it is possible to calculate sugar content and the alcoholic content of the prospective wine.

Since individual vineyards have vastly differing soil and climatic conditions the quality of wines varies greatly from one to another. The best results have been achieved on gentler slopes in the south and south-west.

Quantity-wise the five million hectolitres of 1971 are only about half as much as in vintage 1970 when there was a record output.

All in all 1971 is a typical vintage for the connoisseur to stock up with and should be enjoyed for many years to come. If you want to drink wine in 1972 it is better to go for the delicious 1970 vintage which is still in ample supply.

It is particularly interesting to note how the new wine legislation affects the grading of 1971 wines. Generally speaking there has been a raising of standards by one or two degrees. In an average year there should be about equal quantities of the three classes *Tafelwein* (table wine), *Qualitätswein bestimmter Anbaugebiete* (a quality wine from a named vineyard) and *Prädikatswein* (top quality wine).

But in 1971 there is likely to be little *Tafelwein*, small quantities of *QbA* and a large number of high class wines. But this exceptional vintage should not lead us to draw false conclusions. The degree of late harvesting is unusual for Germany and the number and quality of the *Prädikatsweine* is a very rare exception, showing how the joy of German wine can lie in the varying quality from year to year. It is scarcely possible to predict or control how good a certain vintage will be.

For the first time the wine lover will have an official control on wines with the 1971 vintage and the labels will be stamped with a control number showing they have been officially checked.

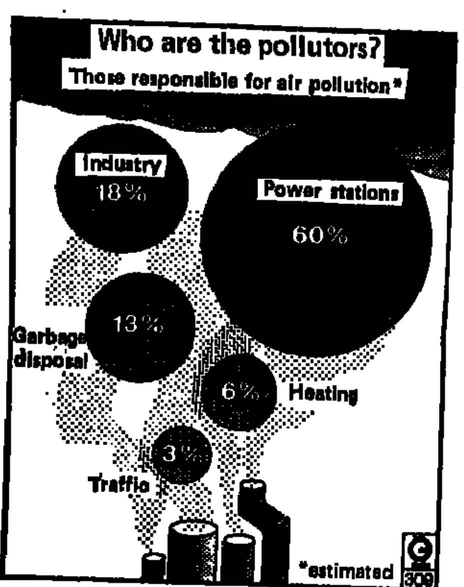
The test is carried out by tasting following an official analysis by an unbiased control commission working to strictly laid down guidelines.

Gerhard Rietz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 November 1971)

■ POLLUTION

Bundestag garbage hearing raps litter louts



The 9 November Bundestag hearing on waste disposal came to a head with the discussion of a ban or tax on products considered to be hostile to the environment.

As was to be expected the representatives of industry were opposed to the idea of resorting to bans to cope with the growing mountains of garbage. They were none too keen on the idea of an environmental tax on, say, no deposit, no return packaging either.

Sausage skins could be classed as a non-returnable form of packaging, Dr Gässler of the Association of Federal Republic Industry commented.

Besides, taxation was no way of bringing the manufacture of non-returnable packaging to a halt, he argued.

If the general public continued to feel packaging of this kind to be desirable, it was further noted, a tax would merely increase costs and boost fiscal revenue. The benefit in terms of environmental protection would be nil.

Professor Straub, general secretary of the refuse disposal study group, was up to a point in favour of a ban on certain forms of non-returnable packaging and decidedly approved of a tax on plastics, glass, motor-cars and tyres.

Professor Langen of the department of refuse disposal at the Federal Health Office was in favour of specifying that polyvinyl chloride only be used in instances where there was no adequate substitute.

Industrial spokesmen were a good deal more optimistic, reckoning that in due time solutions would be found to the problem of reusing garbage.

From the technological viewpoint, they felt, few snags remained. The expense, of course, was another matter altogether.

"There is nothing dishonourable in speaking up for one's own interests," Professor Schäfer, chairman of the Bundestag home affairs committee, said. He began by telling the 44 specialists who had travelled to Bonn for the hearing.

They began by estimating the amount of refuse likely to accumulate. According to Professor Langen the current annual amount of garbage is in the region of 350 million cubic metres (455 cubic yards).

Between sixty and ninety million cubic metres of this total consist of household garbage and roadside waste. Per capita volume will double by 1980, after which the growth rate will decline.

Herr Wienback, a Hamburg civil engineer, pointed out the considerable differences that occur between town and country. Hamburg, he said, produced between fifty and seventy-five per cent more domestic refuse than the average.

City-dwellers in Sweden, he added, produce half as much garbage again and urban households in the United States 2.6 times as much as the people of Hamburg.

Herr Straub of Baden-Baden noted that the refuse produced by twelve to thirteen million people in this country is incinerated. A million and a half people's garbage is composted and that of the remaining 46 million disposed of on rubbish dumps.

In the equivalent of only nine million cases, however, could it be claimed that refuse disposal by conventional landfill means caused no damage to the environment.

Industrial garbage is not accounted for statistically to any great extent and forecasts were accordingly vague.

Herr Sander of the Association of Federal Republic Industry noted that "trade and commercial refuse and the like is adequately disposed of in only a limited number of instances." Few manufacturers, chemicals and the motor industry, for example, could afford to build special disposal facilities.

Stricter regulations such as those now imposed in North Rhine-Westphalia were, he felt, not always the answer. At times it was more dangerous to hoard garbage on works property than to dump it somewhere or other.

Herr Sander added that management frequently had little idea of the composition of garbage, let alone of the ways and means of treating it.

Dr Vogl, chemicals specialist at the Bavarian Ministry of Country Development and Environment, estimated that eighty per cent of industrial refuse was similar in character to household garbage and could be similarly disposed of, whereas some twenty per cent consisted of poisons and other harmful substances requiring special disposal facilities.

The situation is somewhat clearer in the chemicals industry. BASF director Leib quoted an estimate according to which the country's annual chemicals production of 48.5 millions tons was accompanied by 12.2 million tons of waste.

The ways and means of disposal included tipping, incineration, occasional recycling, dumping at sea, storage in disused saltmines and boreholes (still at the experimental stage) and incineration at sea.

BASF estimate that chemical waste will double by 1980 and register a tenfold increase by the turn of the century. So the question was whether certain products such as PVC ought to be banned or limitations imposed on their manufacture.

Dr Gäth, a high-ranking BASF synthetics specialist, was one of the few people at the hearing to put in a word in PVC's favour.

Synthetics, he commented, account for a relatively minor proportion of overall refuse. Legislators Dr Gäth claimed, have no idea of scientific and economic facts.

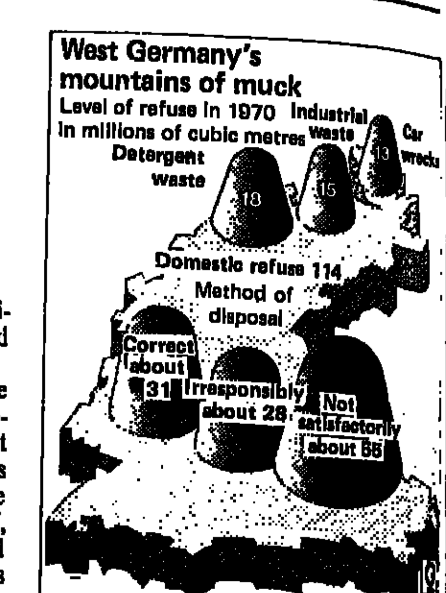
He was opposed to the idea of cultivating micro-organisms for the disposal of sythetics. The toxicological hazards must first be subjected to close scrutiny.

There was, he said, just as little point in manufacturing plastics that were sensitive to ultra-violet light and thus liable to disintegrate faster in sunlight. Dustbins are dark and gloomy places, he commented. So are rubbish tips.

The only environmental hazard at present, Dr Gäth claimed, is plastic containers that are thrown away as litter by members of the general public. So saying, he laid the blame fairly and squarely at the door of John Citizen.

Dr Gäth then admitted to being none too enthusiastic about the amounts of hydrochloric acid that are churned into the atmosphere but added that the alternative must be seen for what it is.

Caustic soda, a key chemical, must be written off and PVC and a good many other products along with it. In view of the economic consequences, he concluded, this was a decision that was up to the Bundestag.



Managing director Lippmann of Gerresheim glass noted that sixty per cent of all glass containers are already non-returnable. Did we, he wondered, want to return to the days when herrings were fished out of the barrel and packed in newspaper?

Glass as a proportion of domestic garbage had remained constant for ten years, he said, at a level between six and seven per cent.

No deposit, no return beer bottles, he conceded, were a growing market. In 1970, for instance, their number had increased by 39 per cent to 385 million.

Herr Lippmann talked in terms of an attempt to make the non-returnable bottle out to be the symbol of environmental polution. What was needed were improved means of disposal.

The true despoiler of the environment, he concluded, was the consumer who throws everything away left, right and centre.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 November 1971)

700 miles of Rhine banks cleaned up for 500,000 Marks

Some 4,300 cubic metres (5,600 cubic yards) of garbage have been cleared from the banks of the Rhine in Baden-Württemberg, the Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia over the last fortnight, Werner Best, Hesse Minister for the Environment, told journalists in Wiesbaden on 18 November.

2,100 local authority employees, civil defence volunteers, members of the armed forces and other organisations had cleaned up the banks of the river over a distance of 1,125 kilometres (700 miles) at a cost of half a million Marks.

The most unsightly refuse had been 4,000 old oil drums, 700 car tyres, ten abandoned cars and several hundred bicycles and perambulators. The North Rhine-Westphalian reaches of the river had accounted for 3,200 of the 4,000 oil drums.

Herr Best took the opportunity of emphasising details of the Hesse programme for keeping the Rhine clean. Next year it will involve sewage expenditure to the tune of 130 million Marks.

Permits to pump industrial effluent into the rivers Rhine and Main are to be reviewed and Hoechst chemicals are to provide up-to-date sewage facilities for all works in the Main region over the next seven years.

The Minister had a number of comments to make about international cooperation in keeping the Rhine clean and was far from enthusiastic about the amount of salty mining bilge France pumps into the river.

On the other hand he welcomed the plans proposed by this country's Rhine Commission to forestall additional heating of the water by power stations.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 November 1971)

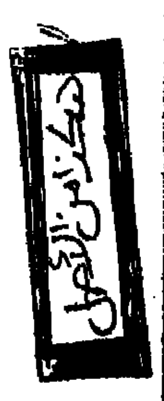
Plastic bags are a major refuse problem

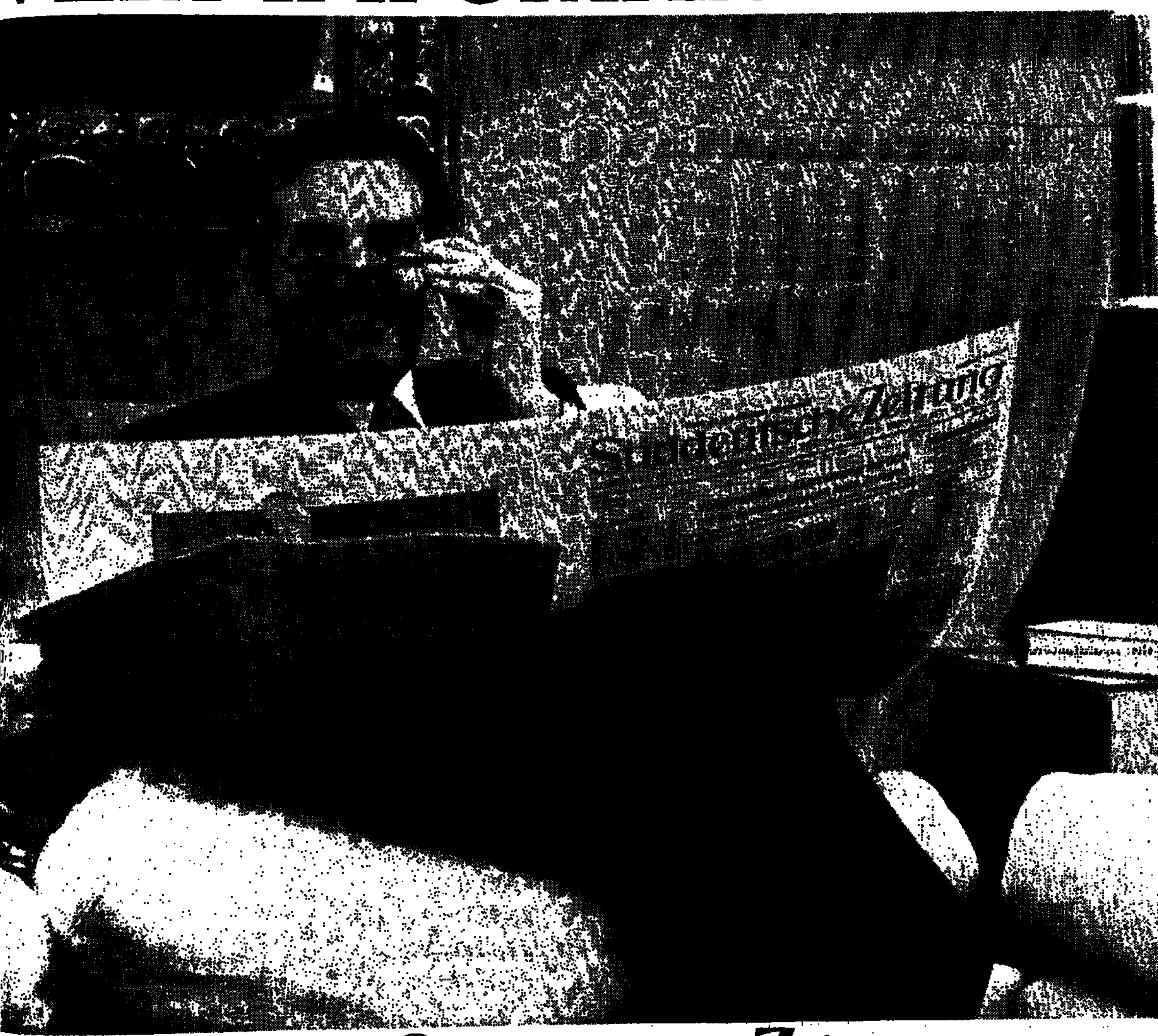
Plastic carrier bags are described as an environmental curse by the Bonn consumer information centre. This year, the centre notes, between 1,600 and 1,700 million of them will be marketed.

Already 300 tons of plastics are deposited on garbage tips all over the country every day.

Paper bags disintegrate in a fortnight or so; plastic bags do not. They cannot even be completely disposed of in incinerators, where they merely melt and clog up the grates.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 November 1971)





■ YOUTH

Hamburg Pastor gets into trouble with his *rockers*

Wolfgang Weissbach, known as the pastor of the rockers, (in West Germany a term used to denote skinheads, hooligans and such groups) has become an institution in the Horn district of Hamburg. For the past five years he has been looking after the "stepchildren of our society". Recently television viewers in this country had the opportunity of seeing him surrounded by his charges.

Pastor Weissbach has now written a book entitled *Rocker, Stiefkind unserer Gesellschaft* (The Rocker, the stepchild of our society), published by Furche Verlag, dealing in diary form with his work among these young people.

As a result of the appearance of his book I visited Pastor Weissbach in a discotheque in his parish to discuss with him his ideas and his work.

"....never make charges against a rocker, do listen to me. And this time I did not charge any one. I don't know why the cops had to say that. It's stupid. Mr Winter I can confirm that Holger was not involved in the incident. "I know him well. He has a Iroquois hair-cut."

Pastor Weissbach telephoned the social welfare department. It was 4.15 on Wednesday afternoon. It was an important day since in the evening between 6.30 and eight the rockers have their fling.

The television interview had its consequences. A hasty radio and television female reporter coined the title "grandpa rocker" for Pastor Weissbach used by a rival group of rockers at nearby Wandsbek.

After the television broadcast the Wandsbek rockers battled their way into the community hall at Horn crying "the grandpa rockers are here!" It was only by the speedy arrival of the police that Pastor Weissbach was able to prevent further trouble of a more violent nature.

Social welfare officials and the police are now urging Pastor Weissbach to take action against the rockers. But he resists this suggestion. The mother of the rocker allegedly concerned telephoned the pastor and asked: "Have you been to the police?" He replied: "No, I assure you that I have not. How can the police maintain that."

These are daily problems. Pastor Weissbach has learned a lesson from them. He said: "I ought not to have taken part in the television broadcast. People have the wrong idea of rockers. Now people say: "Just look at these types. They inform against each other.' We have provoked this reaction of disgust."

According to Pastor Weissbach television has reproduced society's judgment. But what is worse the telecast was not authentic. The scenario maintained that rockers that belong to the same group informed on each other. That is just what rockers never do. The gap between reality and the fictional world displayed on television was evident. The rockers are very angry about it all and are not soothed by the three thousand Marks they received for the three day's work they put in. Lifting his fist Hermann threatened: "If I meet the person responsible ...."

Blacky arrives with Muschi, who has a six-week old baby in her arms. The baby belongs to a relative, but she says: "I'm getting in a little training." She is three months pregnant and intends to marry Blacky. She is 17. Blacky has found a job. Pastor Weissbach told them: "I am delighted that you are working again."

Is it possible for an illigitimate child to be the catalyst in a home? Is that the way to make good citizens out of people? Does Pastor Weissbach want to integrate these rockers into a society to which they are so opposed? He retorted: "There is nothing else to do, at least if we do not want to drive them into criminality."

"Why don't these girls, usually so astute, take the Pill?" Pastor Weissbach's wife answered this. She said: "They don't have the temerity to go to the doctor. For them the doctor sits on a throne and does not speak the same language."

They steal cars, out of boredom or perhaps so as to be able to make love, to be alone for a little while. Why are no love rooms available for them? Pastor Weissbach replied: "I would have trouble again with the law. But in cases of need I know just where to send the kids. Obviously we have to be available every day. We ought to be able to offer them a place to sleep for the night, but our house is too small."

The doorbell rings. A strangers stands at the door. Mrs Weissbach says that the club is not open for another hour and asks who is calling. His reply is: "I am called Tiger." Tiger has come straight from work. He sits down in the waiting room, orders a beer for one Mark then goes to sleep.

The club accountant wakes him up later. He stamps a stamp on the back of his hand – that is to show that he has paid the entrance fee. It costs one Mark.

Pastor Weissbach says: "We need money for emergency cases." He then gives his attention to Richey who is looking at pictures of himself and his friends in a magazine.

Pastor Weissbach said: "Richey, Lothar has written to say that he has got four years. He would like to have a transistor costing 19 Marks. If you make a collection, I'll put up the rest." Richey replied: "O.K. Pastor."

Wolfgang Weissbach walks a perilous line between legality and criminality. He then turned to Udo to talk to him about the plea he would make in court. Among the two accused in his view it would be better for one to plead guilty and to have the other discharged.

The Weissbachs ten-year-old son entered and showed Richey his autograph album. He asked for his signature saying: "But with your nickname."



Pastor Helmut Weisbach, the man who balances delicately between legality and crime, with some of his black sheep

(Photo: Anders/stern)

Pastor Weissbach and his wife do not insist that their children keep away from their work. They don't let them harbour any illusions about the wicked world. Mrs Weissbach said: "Recently his teacher said to him, 'Unless you get out of the class quickly I'll hang you to the coat hanger.' The boy replied, 'If you do that I shall fetch my father and six rockers, and they'll hang you there."

Sometimes the work gets too much for Pastor Weissbach. When he had three complaints laid against him, one for complicity after the fact, one for not taking due care and precaution and the third for corrupting the young, he had to take tranquillizers.

His three functions of citizen, friend of the rockers and a pastor create in him a kind of schizophrenia. He confesses: "Sometimes I feel hypocritical. Particularly after an evening." He had to pray.

Now he is fighting a war on several fronts, against his neighbours who complain about the noise and against the extreme left wing who accuse him of being the "figleaf of progressive elements in the Church", and reproach him for bringing stability to the system. He commented: "I can only point out the signs. I cannot overthrow the system."

So when after five years' work does he hope to bring his Utopia into being? He replied: " I have thought a lot about my Utopia. Opposite you can see the Horn race track used for the Hamburg Derby meet that lasts only eight days a year. I would like to have built there a recreation centre for Hamburg's rockers. A 200,000 Mark loan has already been offered. But it was impossible to get hold of the site. Bureaucracy hinders me. Then I found out that as I am a pastor I cannot take part in negotiations."

Two rockers wanted to box. Pastor Weissbach commented: "Be careful. We shall have to make a rite out of it." They formed a circle, encouraging their favourites and giving advice. They shook hands and then had a beer.

Pastor Weissbach says: "I am interested in concrete problems. That is a good thing after all the hypocrisy." He officiates at fewer burials than his colleagues, but he takes part in more marriages and baptisms."

Tiger asked: "Would you baptise my daughter?" "Certainly. How old is she?" the Pastor queried. "My wife is three months' pregnant, "Tiger replied. As he left and asked if he was acceptable. "Certainly. You must come again. Soon you will be running the club," Pastor Weissbach explained. Tiger left proudly.

When reckoning up the money in the cash box (120 Marks) the question of prison visits has to be born in mind. "I cannot lie," Pastor Weissbach said. He was referring to his endeavours to take cigarettes into his rocker friends. He has difficulty but he continues to try.

Gerhard Krug

(Die Zeit, 19 November 1971)

Heinemann visits Bruchsal prison

"The risks are considerable," the criminal police officer said, breathing more easily when President Heinemann's 8 November visit to the Bruchsal correction centre came to an end.

President Heinemann's visit – he was himself once a lawyer – was a result of a long campaign to improve the old building, designed in the form of a cross and a built in the previous century. A number of security measures had to be imposed so that no incident occurred during the course of the visit.

Of the 340 inmates in Bruchsal 90 are convicted murderers and the others are for the most part major criminals who have to serve long terms of imprisonment.

Administration officers from the centre and officials responsible for the President's safety were concerned at recent reports from American prisons, fearing that possibly the prisoners would attempt to take the President hostage so as to bargain for their liberty.

"A man condemned to imprisonment for life does not risk much," a police official emphasised.

President Heinemann told pressmen who accompanied him on his official visit to Baden-Württemberg but who were excluded from his party when he visited the Bruchsal prison that he had had the opportunity to speak quite freely with several of the prisoners.

The prisoners given the opportunity to meet the President were chosen by the prison administration, two priests and a committee made up of the prisoners themselves.

These men had to prepare in advance the questions that they wished to present to the President. Personal affairs were strictly forbidden as topics of discussion.

Loudspeakers relayed the prisoners' talks with the President to the other prisoners in their cells. Only journalists were not authorised to listen to these discussions. They had to make do with what the President told them in an improvised press conference held in the prison canteen afterwards.

The main themes discussed were: the terms to be actually served by prisoners sentenced to life imprisonment, measures concerning pardons, measures for the reintegration of a prisoner into society and vocational training for prisoners while serving their sentences.

President Heinemann said that attitudes that involved looking at prison life as a means of obtaining expiation from prisoners were attitudes that belonged to the past. The problem now was to show men sentenced the way back to an orderly life within our society.

In the President's view prisoners should not be paid "just a few Marks" for their work while in prison but should be paid at current rates in industry. This would enable them to continue making their payments for social security benefits.

President Heinemann also discussed the question of prisoners rehabilitation. with eighteen members of the prison staff – the total is 134. They complained of the poor reputation they have among the public at large, of the inadequate consideration that was given to them and the lack of personnel in the prison.

President Heinemann told the pressmen with him that he would consider it his duty to publicise the fact that people employed in prison establishments did not take the job in order to get pleasure from oppressing their fellow men but they did the job in order to help their fellow citizens who needed aid.

Walter Schallies

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 November 1971)

■ SPORT

Mang's form promises well for Munich

For some time little was heard of Rudolf Mang, this country's weight-lifting white hope for next year's Munich Olympics. The 'Bear of Bellenberg' (the small village he hails from) had gone to earth.

The strong man with a soft centre was upset by the chorus of criticism that had accompanied his failure to take part in the Lima world championships. But now the heavyweight hope is back in business. Twenty-one-year-old TV mechanic Mang has narrowed the gap between himself and his principal opponent at Munich, Vassily Alexeyev of the Soviet Union. At a club meeting in Neu-Ulm recently Rudolf Mang was in top form.

In the course of one evening he set up a new Federal Republic record in the press (223.5 kg (502 lb) as against a previous personal best of 212.5 kg, a near-record in the jerk of 220 kg (483 lb), only one metric pound less than his previous best, (Alexeyev has jerked 235.5 kg, or 518 lb) and a new national record in the press, snatch and jerk of 605 kg respectively.

This represented an improvement of 15 kg for Mang in the Olympic discipline and takes Mang to the No. 3 position in the world ratings. Only Alexeyev and his fellow-countryman Batshev have done better, Alexeyev 645 kg (1,419 lb) and Batishev 607.5 kg (1,336 lb).

"Rudolf Mang has never been as powerful as he is at present," Josef Schnell of Peutenhausen, his coach, cheerfully commented afterwards, well aware of the fact that his protégé has once again given the lie to the broadsides of criticism to which the two of them have been subjected of late. "Bellenberg and Schrobenhausen (where he trains with Schnell) are no good for Rudolf. He ought by rights to be at a proper weight-lifting training-centre, weight-lifting officials have frequently noted in dissatisfaction with the methods used by coach Josef Schnell, an autodidact and idealist.

"But I have confidence in Joe," Mang retorted. "He is responsible for getting me as far as I have to date and he will get me in form for Munich next year too."

Mang chose his words carefully. "All too often what I have said has been distorted beyond all recognition," he added.

At 129 kg (284 lb, or 20 st. 4 lb) Rudolf Mang now weighs in at a heavier weight than ever before but Schnell is still not satisfied.

"Mang could do with a little more down below," Schnell notes. "By Munich he must weigh 135 kg (297 lb)." This at any rate is the target and putting on those extra pounds is no longer a matter of eating, eating and eating again, either.

Together with his protégé Schnell has developed a training device that keeps the muscles tense yet allows them to be moved at the same time. "With the aid of this device he can put on weight while training too," Schnell says.

So the Bear of Bellenberg has taught his critics a lesson once again and, let it be added, there was no lack of them among the 800 people who saw him pull off his latest records.

In the general jubilation that accompanied his 220 kg in the jerk everyone seemed temporarily to forget that Mang does not normally have an easy time of it. Of late even people in his home village have been heard to say that Rudolf would do better to earn a living than to lift weights.

Criticism of this kind cuts a sensitive boy like Mang to the quick, all the more so because his parents have also suffered as a result.

His father, who was recently awarded the golden badge of honour for fifty years' membership of the weight-lifting association, had a heart attack and his mother too is in a bad way healthwise. But Rudolf Mang himself is not making a hue and cry about these personal troubles.

When the band strikes up at the opening ceremony of the Munich Olympics Rudolf Mang will be 22. "And I would dearly like to win an Olympic medal," he admits. His aim is to press, snatch and jerk 650 kg (1,430 lb) in Munich. Mang realises that he still has a long way to go before he catches up with Alexeyev, "but the gap is not as great as the figures lead one to believe," coach Schnell says.

"Today," he commented in Neu-Ulm, "Rudolf could have done even better but we did not want to alarm Alexeyev too much."

(Photo: Sven Simon)

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 November 1971)

High hopes for sprinter Inge Helten at next year's Olympics



The major trials of strength of the 1971 athletics season were over and done with when the women sprinters raced along the Tartan track at a relatively minor meeting in Bonn.

When the timekeepers came to look at their stopwatches after the winner had passed the 100 metres tape they could hardly believe their eyes. Inge Helten had run the 100 metres in 11.1 seconds.

This was more than a surprise; it was a sensation. Had she been a tenth of a second faster she would have equalled the world record.

The announcer was so taken aback that he said "Inge Helten has won the 100 m in the fantastic time of 10.1 seconds!" It took the laughter of the assembled company to bring him down to earth and realise that he had been a second too generous.

The heroine of the story, Inge Helten herself, appeared if anything to be somewhat depressed. She marched off in a dream as though it must have been someone else.

The new star on the horizon of women's track athletics in this country still finds it hard to believe that she has had so successful a season. "It makes me feel really odd at times," she candidly admitted.

The feeling of confusion on twenty-year-old Inge's part is understandable enough. In the course of three short months she has achieved more triumphs that in the rest of her life together.

The sporting career of this girl from Sinzig-Westrum, near Bonn, population 13,000, has been so meteoric that the pundits are talking in terms of a vertical take-off, a phrase that can have had little connection with her previous life story.

In the former Roman town at the meeting-point of the Ahr and the Rhine Inge Helten's name is now a household word. Burgomaster Hein Holstein proudly says that "she is the first top-flight woman athlete our town has ever been able to boast."

Last season Inge Helten shared eighteenth place in this country's list of season's best times with twelve other girls. But she carried on training, going to Andernach three times a week in the hope of improving her time by one or two tenths of a second.

At this year's athletics championships in Stuttgart this simple country girl (for this is the impression she creates with her straight face, long hair and lanky legs) seemed to change overnight.

Helsinki was not to be her last accomplishment this season either. Three weeks later at the junior championships she equalled the national 200 metres record of 23.1 seconds and ended the season with her sensational 11.1 seconds for the 100 metres in Bonn.

As a result Inge Helten is regularly asked how she rates her prospects for the Olympic Games in Munich. She makes short shrift of all suggestions that she might be a wonder girl.

"I am no miracle," she says. "If I manage the same times next season I will be more than satisfied."

To watch her training in Andernach is to realise how great her potential is. The training she puts in at the modest sportsground is provincial, to say the least.

It involves a minimum of gymnastics, little weight-lifting and training for the start that is quite inadequate. A clerk at Andernach electricity board, she has never put in any systematic winter training.

Everything she has notched up so far has been the result of natural talent. Work must be put in to achieve further progress. In Inge Helten the amateur athletics association has found a rough diamond. It is up to the sporting officials to ensure that she is ground and polished.

Stefan Lázár

(Photo: Nordbild)

(Die Zeit, 19 November 1971)

Aden	SA $ 0.05
Afghanistan	Af 10.—
Algeria	DA 0.60
Angola	Esc. 1.—
Argentina	$ m n 45 —
Australia	10 c.
Austria	S 3.—
Belgium	bfr 6.—
Bolivia	$ b 1.50
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
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Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—
Cambodia	R 4.40
Cameroun	F C.F.A 30.—
Canada	Can. $ —20
Ceylon	cR —.60
Chile	Esc. 0 60
Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7 —
Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT £ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	5 p
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.60
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.85
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.65
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.50
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	£ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d